NARGHILE

CONCORDIA UNIVERSITY
DD89.E5 C001 V004
HISTORY OF THE GERMAN PEOPLE FROM T
3 4211 000022979

F. BOYER.

FIRST EDITION

The First Edition is limited to 1500
copies, of which this is

No. 421

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2026

https://archive.org/details/historyofgermanp0004edwa

THE
INTERNATIONAL HISTORICAL
LIBRARY

SECTION ONE

HISTORY

OF THE

GERMAN PEOPLE

FROM THE FIRST AUTHENTIC
ANNALS TO THE PRESENT TIME

With an Introduction by
WILLIAM R. SHEPHERD, Ph. D.
Professor of History, Columbia University

VOLUME FOUR

The Renaissance and Humanism in Germany

Edited by
EDWARD S. ELLIS, A.M.
and
AUGUSTUS R. KELLER

ILLUSTRATED

1916
The International Historical Society
Incorporated New York

KLINCK MEMORIAL LIBRARY
Concordia Teachers College
River Forest, Illinois

Copyright, 1916, by
AUGUSTUS R. KELLER

THE QUINN & BODEN CO. PRESS
RAHWAY, N. J.

6884

CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
I.	The Harbingers of Humanism .	17
II.	Emperor and Princes . . .	49
III.	The German Cities . . .	83
IV.	The Schools	139
V.	The Universities . . .	178
VI.	The Learned Societies—The General Spread of Humanism .	243
VII.	Poetry and the Poets . . .	268
VIII.	A Glance at the Development of Science	309
IX.	Johannes Reuchlin . . .	345
X.	Desiderius Erasmus . . .	385

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

A Lecture in a University (Fifteenth Century) Painting by Laurentius de Voltolina. *Frontispiece*

FACING PAGE

Frederick the Wise of Saxony. Engraving by Albrecht Dürer 60

Konrad Peutinger. After a painting by Christoph Amberger (1490-1563) . . 100

Yard of the Castle at Nürnberg. Drawing by Albrecht Dürer 146

Emperor Maximilian. Woodcut by Albrecht Dürer 190

Konrad Celtes. Woodcut by Hans Burghmair (1472-1559) 230

Eoban Hesse. Facsimile of the woodcut by Albrecht Dürer 276

Albrecht of Mainz. Engraving by Albrecht Dürer 320

Erasmus of Rotterdam. Painting by Hans Holbein the Younger (1497-1554) . . 360

CHAPTER I

THE HARBINGERS OF HUMANISM

ONE day in the year 1482, a young German, Johannes Reuchlin, entered the auditorium in Rome of Joh. Argyropulos, a Greek and a brilliant scholar in the revival of Hellenic culture in Italy. He walked directly among the illustrious gathering of celebrities and in modest, well chosen words announced his desire to learn from the masters. When questioned, he said he was not altogether unconversant with the Greek idiom, and began without hesitation to read and afterwards translate, a passage from Thucydides, which the teacher selected for him. When he had finished, he had won a marked triumph for himself and the delighted instructor exclaimed: "Alas! Through our exile, Greece has vanished across the Alps."

Only a few decades before, such judgment regarding Germany and the Germans would have sounded far different. In those days Enea Silvio, who may be described as the first apostle of Humanism in Germany, made a very harsh condemnation of the princes because of their indifference to poetry,

after a fruitless propaganda for years which had tired and embittered him. "If you prefer," said he, "horses and dogs to poets, then you will have to die without glory the same as horses and dogs." In the nobility he saw only vulgarity and profligacy, and he never wearied of telling anecdotes in his letters illustrating the debauchery of the Teutons. With a smile bordering on contempt, he spoke of the barren efforts of the learned men and of their scientific, that is, purely theological researches.

These acid comments were not occasional outbursts, called forth through sheer amazement, nor an unjust grudge intensified by his involuntary exile from his native heath, but were frank expressions of the sentiment which took possession of the Italians when they looked upon German conditions and which were in the main correct, and truly represented the intellectual condition of Germany.

A stupendous change had taken place there within those two-score years. This change communicated itself to Italy, for the young, zealous and studious Germans had migrated to that country and thought their education not even partially completed until they returned richly endowed. But what a difference between Italian Renaissance and German Humanism, despite this solidarity, or even dependency upon Italian culture! In Italy, it had been a powerful intellectual current which, almost incessantly flowing throughout two centuries, overcoming the

most obstructive elements, had been compelled to obey the mandate which elementary force had decreed. In Germany, it represented a movement lasting barely half a century, and was arrested in its victorious course by adversaries of equal power, until finally directed into other channels through a decisive upheaval which carried the whole nation with it. On the other hand, in Italy the invasion of the foreigner and the ecclesiastical reaction had brought the Renaissance to an end, whereas in Germany the Reformation replaced Humanism.

The entire nation in Germany could be stirred to its full depth only by an ecclesiastical revolution, for mere interest in culture had always been foreign to them. The purpose of the new movement there had been to create a change in the character of learning, even if it was not purely one of research, while in Italy its trend revolutionized a man's entire viewpoint and conduct of life. The clergy and laity in Italy, high and low, were united in the same endeavor, since the very prelates had set an example to their pupils by assisting in their studies. On the other hand, in Germany the Humanists had actually split into two factions,—progressive and reactionary. This was particularly true in matters where faith and knowledge collided. The clergy became the natural enemies of the new teachings and were pronounced, even more than they deserved, opponents of the same. In spite of this, however,

Humanism in Germany was neither anti-religious nor frivolous, but in Italy it was tinged with both. The dominant trend, this leaning towards popular sentiment which was recognized in the religious coloring of German Humanism, did not revive popular literature.

While in Italy the most eminent Humanists, from Dante down to the end of the epoch of the Renaissance, made use either voluntarily or, in some degree compulsorily, of the Italian as well as the Latin language, so that both literatures flourished simultaneously, many German Humanists who had begun their efforts at a time when popular literature was again in the ascendency, were affected by a feeling of repulsion which did not lack an element of envy. Others strove to conquer for the German language the same rights possessed by the Latin. This was not because they were more patriotic than the former, for even the latter by no means lacked the sense of patriotism, but because they were farther sighted in recognizing the limitations of a culture of mere learning.

Though they used high-sounding words in extolling Germany's glory and in denying Italy's precedence, they would have welcomed for Germany the promoting interest on the part of the princes which proved such a blessing for the Renaissance culture of Italy. They felt themselves at one with the people, but scorned to talk with them in the same

language; they expected protection and intelligent concern on the part of the princes, but had to be satisfied with a lukewarm assurance of their patronage.

However much the German intellectual movement of those years was dependent upon Italy, it would be wrong to describe the German Humanism as a mere importation, or a culture wholly detached. On the contrary, even before the close contact with Italy took place, there was a distinct stir of elements typically German. First of all was the invention of the art of printing, which saved the individual tedious work, and afforded to authors the possibility of immensely extending their sphere of influence among contemporaries far and near.

It is not intended to give here a history of printing, but the fact deserves mention that this invention conquered the world with phenomenal rapidity and awakened to a new and vigorous life the dormant impulse for learning and education in Germany. It was from Germany—regardless whether Mainz or Strasburg was the home of the artists and art's first asylum—that the pioneers went forth with such quickness and success that before the close of the fifteenth century they had taken possession of Italy, France, England and even Spain and Portugal. In all those countries it was the German artisan who came to ply his new trade, prompted

either by his own enterprising spirit or in answer to a call from the foreign princes.

The new art fired the desire of the Germans for learning; it forced, as it were, the mental material upon those who hitherto had deplored the lack of the same. Not that the printers devoted themselves exclusively to manifolding the works of quondam literature; on the contrary, there were printed in the first decades far more popular books, Bibles and theological productions than classics. The publishers put before their readers abundant material in the shape of low-priced, easily read editions, the majority of which appeared in separate issues of about a thousand copies. These distinguished themselves most favorably in every respect from the laborious handwritings of a former epoch. Clergymen and laymen promulgated without discrimination their excellence and worth. Studious men like Jakob Wimpheling wrote tracts concerning the new art of printing, anticipating its vast wholesome effect upon education and morale. Clergymen like the Benedictine Berhard Witte spoke of it as the most worthy, the most laudable, the most useful and divine art. Such praises, which easily reached bombastic exaggeration, were not the outcome of the forecasting spirit only, nor the recognition of the dawn of a new era, but the conscious realization that Germany, by virtue of this invention, had exalted herself to a commanding position amongst the nations. For if

in those days an Italian declared with contempt: "Recently a new art has sprung up amongst the barbarians," the Germans were quite justified in their knowledge that they had exempted themselves from the stigma of barbarism, on the strength of this same invention.

As a matter of fact, there was a small minority, like the unknown author of *Avisamentum Salubre Quantum ad Exercitium Artis Impressoriæ Literarum,* who strove to compare the advantages and disadvantages of this new art in a cynical spirit, and decried the aristocracy which arrogates the possession of intellectual accomplishments to a small coterie only. He emphasized the harm that would be wrought should the Bible be made easily accessible to the educated laymen, or even when translated be given into the hands of the common people. Happily, however, such unjust preachings found no willing listeners.

Really pious men like Jakob Wimpheling demonstrated the advantages which the Church would derive from this invention. In one of his tracts he exclaimed, "There is no invention nor any other mental offspring of which we Germans have a right to be as proud as of the art of printing books, which has made us at once the new exponents of the doctrine of Christianity, and of all divine and worldly wisdom, and thereby the benefactors of the whole of humanity." Heinrich Bebel in a poem,

and Beatus Rhenanus in his great historical work, proved the Germans to be the real inventors and exposed the fallacy of the assumption of a few Italians that Italy had discovered the noble art, and that the Germans were only instrumental in its extension.

The invention was praised as a "teacher of all arts on behalf of the Church," and its sponsors as "priests who do not preach with words but with their writings." Immense success came through the efforts of a league which untiringly fostered the art, and which called itself the "Brethren of the Community of Life." The founder of this society was Gerhard Groot (1340-84). Not only did he give it his name but he infused his spirit into it. Formerly abandoned to worldly matters, he heeded the warning of a friend: "Why fritter your time away in the vain pursuit of emptiness; be a better man," and devoted himself to the culture of the spiritual. In spite of the splendid effect of his preachings, he persistently refused to be a priest, saying: "Not for all Arabia's wealth would I ever take upon myself the care of souls, even for one single night." It was in this lofty spirit, true to the great example of the Master, that the Order of the Brethren lived in seclusion, and toiled only as mentors and teachers to the people. As such, the society was officially recognized by Pope Eugenius IV (1431), although its members were bitterly

maligned by many persons, partly on account of the absence of any ecclesiastical vows, and partly because of their publicly manifested anti-clerical sentiments.

Assisted by the papal indorsement, they soon developed an energetic activity in Germany which consisted chiefly in copying writings of authors and in teaching of the youth. The former was consummated systematically, for it was their duty to endow their own libraries with the works of the past epochs, both Christian and heathen, and to promote education through the sale to others thirsting for knowledge of all those writings not needed for their own use. The teaching was based upon education on Christian principles, "an erection of spiritual pillars in the Temple of the Lord"; but with their deep reverence for the Christian writings as "the root of all study," the curriculum embodied the study of German, laid special emphasis upon the Latin authors, even poets, and reserved also a place for Greek literature.

In effect, the sphere of activity which emanated from the Brethren of the Community of Life extended over a wide area, and was locally very powerful. It did not confine itself to western Germany, adjoining Holland, but was distinctly felt deep in the interior of the country, and even extended its influence to the far East. Furthermore, it was of such permanent and universal effect that

not only the entire body of adherents of the older generation of Humanists identified themselves with the Brethren as their votaries, but—according to a popular anecdote of those times—in the little town of Ammersdorf, the plainest artisan was able to understand Latin, the girls sang Latin songs, and everywhere in the streets one could hear that language correctly spoken.

The pious Brethren, however, who considered teaching and writing their chief task were not the only heralds of a new intellectual epoch. They, who could hardly be under Italian influence, at least not through any visible means, were joined by men who seemed to have been dependent upon Italian culture, both by their training and their mental attitude. The most prominent of the latter was Petrus Luder, born about 1415 at Kislau, in the Kraichgau. He came to Rome as a young clergyman, roamed over the world, then settled in Padua, where some of the Pfaelzer students recommended him to their regent. The latter, impressed by a Latin speech of the Humanist, appointed him professor of Latin and instructor in the old authors at Heidelberg (1444). The young professor had a hard time among his elder colleagues, who antagonized him both as a newcomer and because of the tendencies of his teachings. First, he was called upon to lay before them the manuscript of his maiden speech, since it was suspected of containing objectionable com-

ments; second, he was to be excluded from the library, or at most permitted to use it only in a restricted way.

In spite of these attempts to balk him which, as a matter of fact, only partly succeeded, Luder continued his work, taught Latin, and defended the old scribes against the reproach of indecency. Owing to the plague, he had to leave Heidelberg in 1460. Afterwards he lectured for a time in Ulm and in Erfurt, and later in Leipzig, where he was warmly welcomed by a circle of industrious youths. Among these was Hartmann Schedel, who had been longing for some time for a Humanist teacher until, attacked by an Italian of that school who taxed him with incompetence in Latin, he was sneered at because of his weak and somewhat clumsy defense. In order to escape the gibes of his former adherents he returned to Padua (1462), this time with a view of studying medicine. Since 1464, acting more as a teacher in his new profession than as a Humanist at the newly founded University of Basel, he appeared for the last time (1474) at Vienna, where he held an academic office. Luder was a jovial man, fond of his drinking companions and indulging more than was seemly in the sensual joys of life. He was constantly in financial straits, lacked moral backbone, and did not take religion very seriously. He once got into a conflict with the town deacon in Heidelberg, perhaps without his fault, but in

Basel, where the theologians charged him with heresy on account of his expressed doubt of the Holy Trinity, he taunted them by saying that before he would let himself be burned at the stake, he was willing to believe in a "Quaternity." In his scientific researches he showed a deplorable lack of devoutness, and his efforts were more in the direction of a form culture, copied from the Italians, than in deep thinking and true wisdom. This shallowness was apparent in his speeches as well as in his letters and poems, which introduce us to the affable man who made many friends through his easy and pleasant manners; but they could never convince us of his profound learning, conscientious work or thorough research. This was the reason why Luder, in spite of his talents and his merits as a founder of the Humanist movement in Germany, wielded no lasting influence; on the contrary, all traces of his activity were soon obliterated, even in those places where he had worked, and where afterwards Humanism blossomed in all its glory.

Contemporaneously with, and in the same manner as Luder, Samuel Karoch von Lichtenstein taught in different places in Germany, and last in Heidelberg, in 1509. He was educated in Italy, idling and carousing, boastful of his great knowledge, which appeared the greatest to himself. All that has been preserved of his literary products are: fragments of stilted speeches, bombastic university promulga-

tions, love poems, a recommendation of the study of Humanism, and at the same time praise of the beauties of the summer season, and some tales and poems which were of a grossly obscene nature. These productions may show a good intention, but all the same a very limited talent. He was properly characterized as "a Humanistic charlatan," or, as one of his contemporaries judged him truly, "full of tomfooleries, spreading barbarism and teaching doggerel instead of poetry." Writers of a succeeding generation who towered above him naturally forgot the impetus which he gave them and chose to make him the object of their sarcasm.

While Luder and Karoch were itinerant preachers of the new school but of somewhat blasphemous tendencies, there were others who toiled with serene steadiness and with a serious conception of their apostolic mission. To this class belongs the Augsburg patrician, Sigismund Gossembrot who, inspired by the worthiness of the new study which came from Italy to Germany, felt an earnest aspiration to help men to victory in his own country. In the course of his campaign, he got into a controversy with the Vienna professor Conrad Saeldner (1452), It must be borne in mind that the Augsburger was an ardent champion of the Latin school and attained distinction in its diction and style. The Viennese, as a matter of fact, pretended not to have any intention of gainsaying the importance of the old

6324

authors; he only took exception to the modern poets like Valla, Poggio, Aretino, and vigorously assailed them and their adherents, but this discrimination was only a subterfuge.

The fact is there were two different systems, which were in opposition to each other and which, owing to their sharp contrast, resisted every attempt at amalgamation.

The disputation as conducted between Gossembrot and Saeldner was nothing more nor less than the one that Petrarch had to fight out with his opponents. That was, to break with the accepted system of life and substitute in its place another, which was neither justified by the strong authority of long tradition nor supported by the even stronger protection of the Church, but claimed that its existence and recognition depended solely on its own inherent power. In this struggle we admire the stanch honesty of Saeldner more than the good, if sometimes weak, intentions of Gossembrot, though the supreme right of history must always be on the side of the latter.

Germany could not expect the salvation of a new culture, either from roaming poets or from sober minded citizens who had brought back from Italy a laudable desire for study and the preservation of the same for the future, but who in the seclusion of their towns were not wholly free from a Philistine smugness. More particularly was this true because

nations are loath to accept their scientific culture from foreigners or immigrants without a country, but prefer to trust those who are attached to them by stronger bonds than those of a spiritual community.

It follows that the influence of three other harbingers of Humanism,—Felix Hemmerlin, Gregor von Heimburg, and Nikolaus von Cusa,—meant far more for the development of German intellectual life, although their Humanistic knowledge may have been less than that of those mentioned before.

Felix Hemmerlin (about 1398-1460), belonged to Zurich, which at that time was part of the German empire. He had been educated in Italy, but made use of his education both in and for Germany. In a humorous collection of the sixteenth century, written in German and Latin by August Tuengers and called "Facetiousnesses," we find an anecdote concerning him which reads as follows: "Hemmerlin had gravely offended a citizen, and after trial in court he was sentenced to recant the offending words before an assembly in a church. He complied, but added to his revocation, just as a limping sexton was passing by him, 'How futile would it be for me to assert that our sexton does not limp, since you can all see with your own eyes that he actually does limp.'"

This will give a glimpse of Hemmerlin's character and career. He was aggressive, stubborn in

reiterating accusations which had been repeatedly made before, and in his zeal did not spare the most exalted personages who had the power and possessed the desire for revenge, and never flinched from suffering the penalty of his boldness. His attacks were directed against the corruption of the clergy, the flagrant deterioration of the papacy, and particularly the hypocrisy of the Zurich friars and nuns, (Bergharden and Berghinen) who led a life of debauchery and sensuality under the pretense of having renounced the world and devoted themselves to God.

Hemmerlin was an extremist, but no reformer; a representative of the past in religion and politics. He strongly advocated an exaggerated cult of relics and would, if it enabled him to gain possession of an unusually wealthy treasure, condone even the crime of theft. He defended all kinds of superstitions;—ghosts, casting out of evil spirits, invocations to influence the weather, etc., and himself, if necessary, took the part of the conjurer. As a politician, he was more attached to imperialism than to the Swiss people, and in a grandiloquent book "Concerning Nobility" he gave the "rowdying country louts" (*rudissima rusticitas seu ruralitas*) his opinion of their origin and nature, praising the nobility as punishers who were ordained by God to sit in judgment over all the misdeeds of the peasants. By asserting that there were three nobles

among the apostles and that Christ worked his miracles mostly on the nobility, he drew his own conclusions as to the justification of the prerogatives of the nobility.

In spite of this bigotry and his by no means classical manner of expression, Hemmerlin was a harbinger of Humanism, proud of the scientific degree which he had acquired (he graduated as doctor from the University of Bologna), and obsessed by the belief that spiritual and moral salvation reposed in the revival of ancient times. When, for instance, in his notorious book of the nobility (chapter 3) he describes how one noble man resents a peasant addressing him with "Thou," Hemmerlin maintains at the same time that the "tibizare" is really proper; for thus spake God to Moses and the pope to the emperor and vice versa. This may at first glance seem a trifling incident, but in reality it was a prophecy of the equality of all beings of the human community, no matter how much they differed from one another in outward appearance. This sentiment had wholly vanished in the old times, with the disappearance of that democratic form of address.

In the fight against the corruption of the clergy, Hemmerlin found an ally in Gregor von Heimburg (1410-72) who, in his far greater sphere of activity, made a much bolder start, but at the close of his career became of a wavering, fluctuating mind.

Hemmerlin stuck to his own contradictions and died in prison, while Heimburg, whose whole life had been a fight against papal decrees of punishment, towards the end bowed meekly to the authority which he had so persistently denied. With his appeals, he roused the Germans to make war on the Turks, but later on opposed the plans for the campaign that had been wrought out by others. Once he championed the cause of neutrality on the part of the German Chur-Princes, in the strife between the emperor and the pope, but afterwards he urged joining in the struggle. So long as Heimburg was inspired with vigorous ambition, he tried to justify the standpoint of the anticurialist, the defender of worldly rights and rulers, and in opposition to the arbitrariness of the pope and his officials, he threw his full weight on the side of Germany's protest against the interference and arrogance of the foreigner. In his various disputes, owing to a curious coincidence, he fought Enea Silvio, and perhaps it was the personality of this opponent which spurred him to greater zeal, but not personality alone, it was also his own mental tendencies, for Heimburg attacked not only the Church principles of the pope, but his narrowminded Humanistic views. He who was fittingly praised by Enea Silvio as a "master of German rhetoric," did not dispute Humanism as such, for the doctrine did not consist of glib speeches and pleasantries. He

warred against the superficial view which some Italian and German learned men took, or pretended to take, of the real nature of the thing. He felt a great pride, and is admired for it by his friends to this day, in employing sentences like the following in his arguments against overzealous defenders of the classics: "It is a sign of a sublime spirit if we do not adopt the style of this or some other author, but as a result of our communion with them preserve the spirit peculiar to ourselves. But the happiest way is not to gather here and there like the bee, but to talk spontaneously after the example of those worms out of which silk flows."

With all such ebullitions, Heimburg never said anything really new, but only repeated the same thoughts which Flavio Biondo, Poliziano and other representatives of Italian Renaissance had uttered before him, or were pronounced by his contemporaries. Amongst the quarrels in which Gregor took part as opponent to papal claims, one of the most remarkable was the protest on behalf of the duke of Austria, Sigismund, against the appointment by the pope of Nikolaus von Cusa as bishop of Brixen. This was the more extraordinary, since the latter (1401-64), a German by birth, although educated in Italy, where he also died, was at the bottom of his heart an ally of his opponent, convinced like him of the necessity of the revival of study and a reform of the Church. But whereas the jurist Heimburg

used his knowledge of jurisprudence and the power of his personality in this vital struggle to vindicate his principles and to demolish all the teachings of his adversaries, the clergy believed in quiet work, the fruits of which they expected to gather only in the future.

Heimburg was in his element in this fight between the two world-moving powers,—the state and the church. The latter followed the Utopian idea of reconciling all religious factions with one another; the former scorned knowledge because he saw danger lurking in it. Cusa was indomitable in his endeavor to acquire a many-sided knowledge. As a philosopher, he had united with his rare versatility the learning of the old philosophers and that of the medieval mystics. As a mathematician and astronomer, he had a premonition of great discoveries to come, such as the turning of the globe on its axis. He proposed several improvements of the calendar, for which he gave scientific reasons. As a theologian, he proved his ardent faith by his yearning and striving for the unity of the Occidental church. His zeal showed, further, his undimmed critical quality, by his denial of many Church rescripts which had not been questioned for a long time, such as the pseudo-Isidoric decrees. And finally, as Humanist he gained a thorough knowledge of Greek and Roman authors. He placed all the handwritings collected by him at the disposal of his friends, helped

them and his pupils with his advice and support, and encouraged them to patience in their work which, however, rarely received the merited recognition.

Small wonder, therefore, when the Humanists shouted their praise and even the later generations, who otherwise were wont to scoff at the harbingers as dilettantes, preserve his memory with respect and reverence. Joh. Trithemius says, in a passage quoted by Janssen: "Nikolaus von Cusa appeared in Germany like an angel of light and peace in the midst of darkness and confusion; he restored the unity of the Church, fortified the position of its head, and sowed the new seed of a fruitful life. Part of it has not grown up, thanks to the hard-heartedness of mankind, part of it blossomed forth but soon withered away again, owing to indolence and indifference. But a great part of it has borne fruit which we enjoy up to the present day. He was a man stanch in faith and love, an apostle of religion and science. He embraced every domain of human knowledge, but all his great learning emanated from God, and it had no other aim than the glorification of God, and the regeneration and improvement of mankind. One can learn real wisdom from his science."

These harbingers laid the foundation of a sound, even grand development. German Humanism rose to an imposing spiritual stature. And yet, almost from the first records until its subsidence (about

1470 to 1520), those years were only the approximate limits of the intellectual development. Instead of the expected unity, a distinct schism was noticeable. This separation which on the one hand effectually prevented the one-sidedness of the inner development, was on the other hand a check to a powerful manifestation of outward strength and assumed various aspects. It constantly seemed to be another, but was always the same, that is, the separation of those pressing forward from those who remained behind. Sometimes this contrast seemed a national one, inasmuch as those who revered Italy as the mother of culture, made the attempt to approach it as closely as possible in education and morale, or, filled with cosmopolitan thought, repudiated the attachment to the Fatherland as an ignoble weakness. Others, pushing patriotism to the fore, tried to enhance, often not by laudable means, the glory of the Fatherland in the past and present, although they dared not make the attempt, which was apparently one of their aspirations, to help the German language to victory.

Sometimes this contrast appeared to be a theological one, since some students, true to the medieval opinion, regarded theology as the most exclusive, or at least the noblest study and fostered it as such. Even in the case of their bias towards a non-theological faculty, they continued to revere the Church as ruler of the spirits, and to acknowledge

her commandments as their guide, both for their conduct in life and their intellectual development. Others, independent of the commandments of the Church, cared only to serve science, and even had the courage to enter into open, dangerous and protracted controversies with the theologians, in case the latter made bold to check the free movement. Finally the separation showed itself as a scientific one, inasmuch as some defended the culture of the outward material instead of the mere form culture, seeking thus to revitalize with the help of the old authors, the sciences founded by them. In addition, they endowed them with their experiences and observations made in the meantime, but shut themselves completely off from the ordinary demands of daily life, owing to the nerve-racking activity which claimed the whole of their attention. Others, standing in the midst of life and feeling the throbbing pulse of modern times, quickly acted when needed as their physician demanded it, in order to cure their infirmities.

Their recipes were not fat volumes of learning, but loose leaves, and they thought to serve science more by praising ideas and scoffing at opponents than by earnest work. Such contrasts, the old and the young, the whimsical and the gay, the serious and the frivolous, repeated at all times. In the history of German Humanism, they showed themselves distinctly in three epochs, which, although

they cannot be marked by a fixed number of years, followed one another at certain periods. The first was the theological one. It was, although belonging by nature and duration to Humanism proper, closely in touch with the harbingers of the same. This relation not only consisted in the reverence which the representatives of both schools paid to religion and to religious institutions,—for similar reverence was shown by later generations,—but also in the pronounced devotion to the Church, as manifested by all weak people who felt the need of protection. Upon those the Church not only bestowed gifts of spiritual solace in distress, but imparted edification in joyous times and doled out to them treasures of the mind. As a consequence, they were often embarrassed in their conscience when indulging in Humanistic studies, to which the conception of heathenism always attached itself more or less. They asked themselves with trepidation whether they would harm their souls through enriching their minds with knowledge, and were ready to quit their studies for their own spiritual salvation. They went further: knowing the dangers of a worldly life, and not feeling strong enough to resist its temptations, they sought to escape by seclusion in a monastery, or by consecrating themselves as priests. In weak-minded persons these mental phenomena were not to be wondered at; in the first period of Humanism they were observed even in knights of superior intel-

lect; they were not rare occurrences in the case of a single individual, but a common sign of the times. Many of the men thus mentally constituted, and clever pedagogues in their profession, will have to be mentioned later; meanwhile, the description of one of the most prominent may suffice for the rest.

Rudolf Agrikola (1443-85), belonged to those men who can be better judged by the testimony of their contemporaries than by their real work, that is, their writings which have come down to posterity. If we question the former, we receive from the Italians, the temporary colleagues of Agrikola at the University of Ferrara, as well as from the German Humanists, the unanimous reply that he was one of the most prominent representatives of Humanism and one of the founders of the new spiritual life in Germany. According to the verdict of one of them: "he could have been the first in Italy, but he preferred Germany." To mention a few of the German Humanists who were his colleagues, there was the noble Alexander Hegius who, in spite of being his senior, loved to listen to the teachings of the younger man, or the great Erasmus who was never very liberal with his praise of the departed, because he expected counter praise. Should we, however, try to form our own judgment from letters, poems and prose writings of the lauded Agrikola, we could not deny that the letters, in spite of their high-sounding phraseology, betrayed

an intellectual life, though the poems were sermons, abounding with words but poor in thought; and that his exhaustive philosophical and pedagogical writings bore testimony to his conscientious study of the ancients, but only touched this difficult subject in a slow and timid way, instead of displaying courage and independence. His most exhaustive work: *De inventione dialectica,* although little referred to in later times despite its minute detail, was nothing more than a rambling treatise of the various ways in which an object can be examined, and in place of attacking the previous manner of studying, no landmark of reform was offered. His short composition: *De formando studio*—which in contrast to his chief product was much praised, and described as a compendium of pedagogic teachings—did not by any means penetrate into the great questions of the time. Instead of a description on broad lines, which would serve partially as an offset to representations of the former corrupt state of the sciences, Agrikola gave only a sort of favorable recommendation of philosophy, including morale and physics, as the science which would elevate mankind mentally and lead to perfect happiness. Following this, came the declaration that the Latin language ought to be constantly elucidated through the medium of German. He then continued to attach to these general teachings three special requirements, giving the reader at the same time the means of following

them. This was by retaining what one has assimilated through his memory; and utilizing what he had learned through training. But with all this, he did not by any means set forth principles which would make him a reformer of pedagogy.

The man who thus enunciated the basis of education would never accept office as a school-teacher or collaborator in order to realize the advantages of his instruction. He scoffed at the school, which was used as a resort for leisure or play. He, who had not his equal when it came to boasting and shouting for glory and patriotism, felt contented for a long time in Italy; he, who all his life had been an advocate of the profane sciences, sought to sanctify the remainder of his career by busying himself with theology. He informed his friend Reuchlin of such a plan in a characteristic letter in which he said that he (Reuchlin) had advised him to the contrary, but, all the same, the writer who had no special occupation would use his leisure to learn that language which Reuchlin had acquired in spite of all his numerous activities. If he had previously learned for others, in order to help the "Republic" of the learned and to make himself famous in the eyes of men, he now intended, mindful of his salvation, to labor for himself in studying theology, in order to fathom the sacred mysteries.

The second period of German Humanism was the scientific one. The yearning by the student to be-

long to the clergy was successfully overcome, and in its stead the conviction grew that a layman was able to "fathom the theological subtleties" and he who was untrammeled by bonds ought to be well qualified to comprehend the profoundest theological questions with total impartiality. Furthermore, in this period the scope of studying became enlarged. The Greek language, hitherto little cared for, came into the foreground, and was on an equality with the formerly all-supreme Latin. In addition to these two languages of the classic ancients, the Hebrew idiom began to attract the attention of the scientists; the honorable cognomen *utriusque linguæ peritus* was changed into the prouder one of *trium linguarum peritus.*

The discovery of new countries, which became quickly known in Germany, acted as an incentive to promulgate the new facts and necessitated afresh a study of those lands long known in history, in order to test the correctness of assumptions hitherto in vogue. The newly revived desire for research began to embrace history, manifested itself in the demand for investigation of all and everything that had been believed without any proof, and also created the desire to make Germany's past look brilliant and glorious.

The patriotic feeling which was the outcome of this movement was promoted and fortified by the winning ways and the chivalry of the German king

Maximilian I, which had the most beneficial consequences for the reorganization of German life and conditions. It meant that rulers and scientists vied with each other in the foundation of new schools and universities, and in the improvement of those already in existence, partly in order to disprove the reproach that Germany was in the throes of barbarism, and partly to compel other nations to admit Germany's intellectual equality. However, in this struggle against the foreigner, issue was joined with their own colleagues. For, while the representatives of the first period had to fight out amongst themselves the differences between the old mode of life and the new recognition, in which they often lost, the men of the second period, the victors in this fray, would be matched against the foreign foe who, in serried ranks around his jeopardized property, tried to forestall by heavy blows the attack of his opponents.

The need to be armed very often begets the desire to fight. The place of the second period, devoted to the peaceful promotion of science, was taken by the third,—the polemic period. It was no longer considered necessary to guard against assault, but to challenge the enemy, and to attempt to oust him from the place which he occupied. The combat was carried on with stubbornness and determination, for there was nothing at stake which was material, but on the contrary, important principles

supporting and promoting the intellectual development which when denied by one party was vigorously maintained by the other. Soon the struggle assumed a different aspect, for it did not last long before the principles themselves were relinquished, and only their representatives were assailed; the earnest and serious conviction was followed by the desire to rouse scornful laughter. In the realization of the renewed power, one cried for victory and triumph, and wished to see his opponent on his knees. In this third period, the national consciousness was elevated to greater heights, and patriotic sentiment mingled with the religious ideas. Stronger and stronger grew the opposition against Italy and Rome which, first as the intellectual home of Italy, and second as the seat of the pope, roused hostility. The very claim of the pope to worldly rule and the suppression of the intellectual, now appeared wanton, for instead of purity of morals, which one expected at the papal court as a sign of dignity in an avocation so sublime, one found frivolity and corruption. But in the Fatherland one basked in the effulgence emitted by Maximilian's glory, and praised the augustness and power of the emperor, the light of the earth and the glory of the universe.

Even worse than the papal court, which was at least far distant, were its ubiquitous representatives, the clergymen in Germany, for they did not exhibit

the outer, and in certain sense the winning culture which was an embellishment of the Roman court. It followed that they became exiles from a newly risen culture, and particularly so because they were still puffed with pride over the insignificant remains of an ancient period which saved them all throughout the Middle Ages and they claimed a more exalted position, but declined the means by which in those times such a high position could be attained.

Added to the political and religious contrast, we now notice in the German Humanists their consciousness of intellectual equality, which already showed itself in the older and calmer representatives of the second period, but came to its full manifestation in the youthful warriors of the third. They were inspired by the realization that they, too, could speak the language of Cicero, and could create poetry after the manner and merit of Horace and Virgil. They had the conviction that they need not go to Greece, nor have a Greek teacher in order to learn Greek, and that they had made Plato and Aristotle their own through their intellectual attainment, which freed them from the obscenities of scholastic commentators and the bonds of irresponsible translators. Furthermore, they could triumphantly say that if they had traversed the path of those two languages in an independent manner, although it was opened by others, they were as an undisputable fact tyros

in the matter of Hebrew, and had filled with new life the Hebrew works printed in Italy, which in the beginning were like so many blocks of wood. They were allowed to boast of the perfect flowering of the intellectual life, since they were exploiting the great domain of science, discovering fresh paths everywhere, which either had been found by them or which they had smoothed and broadened for all. Finally, they could foster in their own consciousness the proud feeling that only through their work had the real and higher joy of life become a reality.

This third period of Humanism, which justly records the intellectual climax of the Humanistic movement on account of its youthful vigor and freshness, was the briefest of the three. It was neither a distinct beginning nor a sharply outlined finish. Its inception merges into the closing second period in a manner that is often beyond recognition, provided we do not wish to regard the death of its chief leader, Hutten, as the outer sign of its termination. Humanism was replaced, if not obliterated in its effects, by the Reformation.

CHAPTER II

EMPEROR AND PRINCES

DURING the Humanistic movement two German rulers sat on the imperial throne, Frederick III (1440-92) and Maximilian I (1493-1519). Charles V, whose reign was in the closing years of German Humanism, does not come into consideration, partly because he, as a foreigner, looked upon German affairs with indifference if not hostility. He cared nothing for matters of education. According to Bartholomaeus Satrow, Charles once told a poet who dedicated a poem to him, "the emperor liked the poem, and the author should go ahead and state what he wanted, feeling sure of getting it; he could have a title of nobility or the laurel crown of the poet, but he should never ask for money, for that he would never get." Such a ruler proved that his favor of the studies was merely pretense and outward show. Contrary to him, the emperors who had reigned before Frederick were quite accessible to those intellectual aspirations.

Since Charles IV had been Petrarch's friend and

had shown tolerance, if not actual sympathy toward his ideas, it was unavoidable that German emperors, especially those who had dealings with Italy, should come in contact with Italian Humanists, and to many such association was welcome. Among the latter was Emperor Sigismund (1411-37), an easy going, very excitable prince who, at his two appearances in Italy (1414-32), made a very bad début as a politician, but gained marked popularity among the poets and learned men because of his personal kindness and imperial favors. Even if these did not take the form of monetary support, (money as a payment for his patronage he preferred to receive himself), he succeeded in making himself well liked by celebrated men like Beccaelli and Cyriakus von Ancona, through the bestowal of the crown of the poet laureate, his patient and intelligent attention to the Latin speeches, and his amiable conversations about topics of a nature not altogether educational or scientific. The two men named escorted him around Rome and explained the relics, at a time when such a thing had by no means become the general fashion. Another Humanist, P. P. Vergerio, whom he had met at the congress at Constance, he took with him to the East and had him translate Arrian's History of Alexander the Great, putting it into simple language, for he was not conversant with flowery phrases. It must be borne in mind that Vergerio was a very versatile and

highly educated Humanist, whom Sigismund also employed in theological and political matters.

In the reign of Frederick III—Albert, who preceded him, did nothing for the development of the studies—Enea Silvio came to Germany as a Humanist. He did not do so, however, for the sake of Frederick. Of this ruler, George Voigt said he had "a phlegmatic nature which nothing could rouse out of his seclusion with his hobbies, gardening and animal pets, gold and precious stones, with economical calculations and Jews of finance, with astronomy and alchemy; to absorb in his intellect anything new was absolutely impossible for him; he never had any real understanding for science proper." With all that, Frederick was not stupid, but on the contrary was astute and cunning in his dealings with single individuals. He possessed a jocular vein, and many remembered his sometimes rather coarse jokes. He loved receptions attended by pomp and splendor, to which belonged in those times, Latin speeches of welcome. If he could not quite follow a clever orator, he could smile over a poor wight of a magister, who was hired by the "Reinfelders" but was unable to get beyond the opening address: *benevenerítis domini rex.* The emperor was temperate and patient, absolutely chaste and filled with deep piety, which he thought to make impressive, entering the church only in his

full regalia. He liked to show honors to the Holy Georg, the chief patron saint, as whose priest the emperor loved to describe himself.

As a matter of fact, Frederick's reign did not mean any great accomplishments for the empire, which was at the time of his accession in no brilliant condition. Some of the former emperors had been powerless, or preferred their personal interests to those of the country. He was the first to use imperial powers and prerogatives exclusively for the increase of the possessions and the strengthening of the influence of the Hapsburg dynasty. Wherever he went he lessened the prestige of the imperial name, and appeared like a caricature of former grandeur. In bygone days the emperor had been looked upon and received as a sort of divine delegate, of whom one expected confirmations of rights and privileges, promotions and donations, but now he came in all his poverty seeking to fill his empty coffers with moneys, which were paid by the title-hunting Italians for high-sounding honors. Formerly he had been praised by the Humanists in their hearty and spontaneous receptions, which were really inspired by the reminiscences of the old Roman imperial days of glory, but sometimes also evoked by the impression made by a few single personages of rank and splendor. Now he was lauded with conventional speeches only, but spoken of with disdain, partly because the anti-monarchical sentiment

had produced an aversion to imperialism, and partly because the low and miserable demeanor of Frederick had repelled all personal sympathy. While in Italy, the country of imperial traditions of glory, only idealistic tendencies obtained and counted. It was personal power and palpable property which weighed in other lands. But these, as well as the former were lost. Schleswig-Holstein fell to Denmark, Prussia to Poland, and Bohemia, which had gained religious and political autonomy, segregated herself from the German empire. In the West, the mighty Burgundy became a formidable rival, and from the newly strengthened French kingdom was daily to be expected the most serious peril. In the East were the Turks who, from European guests, were now transformed into hosts and very threatening neighbors they were. Beginning in the year 1463, they invaded part of the German Reichslande, on a plundering expedition which they repeated almost every year, ransacking property and kidnapping citizens, while the oppressed ones only used defiant and high-sounding words, without showing the courage and strength for bold action. Added to all this came the most serious confusion and conflicts within the empire itself. Questions of religious and political reform were ventilated in endless parliamentary sessions, revolutionary movements predicting the rising of the peasantry in the following century gained ground, and the power of the

princes began to show itself beside the royal authority and increased alarmingly.

With such a disposition of the emperor, and such internal and foreign troubles for the empire, there could be no question of a real progress in study. Enea Silvio had, when in 1442, he came to the German court (the history of which he wrote later), imagined the emperor to be like the great well wishers and patrons of the poets under Italy's princes, but only too soon he saw the error of his anticipation and he was wise enough not to undertake any attempts at reform with such a ruler. He even found that his efforts with other princes, much younger and much less opposed to Humanistic studies, met with very little success. In Sigismund of Tyrol he only awakened pleasure through a frivolous love-letter, and he persuaded Duke Albert of Austria to read the Aesopian Fables, which the latter subsequently bitterly regretted. Enea Silvio was even less successful with his immediate surroundings, the nobility and the learned men. He found no sympathizers among them and said: "They are all nice, good-hearted people, but they do not take to sciences after my fashion, their inclinations are not what mine are." The noblemen, who indulged in hunting, coarse love adventures and carousing revelries, lacked a sense of intellectual and refined pleasures that was evinced by the Italians. The learned of the Vienna University, who occupied

themselves exclusively with logic and dialectic based upon medieval writings, did not care at all for the compositions of ancient times or the elegance of the modern, or else they feared, like the above-mentioned Conrad Saeldner, that the cult of the beauty of form would impair the Christian teachings and doctrines.

Whenever a real Humanist showed himself he represented, like Gregor von Heimburg, the contrast between German and Italian ways. When someone claimed to be an imitator or follower of Enea Silvio, like Johannes Troester, or translated one of Enea's writings, like Niklas von Wyle, the people were sure to be attracted by his erotic literature. Enea had only one real disciple, Johann Hinderbach, an orator and writer of history who, in the continuation of the Austrian annals of his master, was spoken of by the latter as "a divine historian and a godlike poet"; and, in 1459, when Enea was pope he said of him in one of his speeches: "The German nation is indebted to you for very much, as you have guided her by teaching and example to that old glory of Roman rhetoric and study of Humanism; Germany will thrive on and in this from day to day more and more." High-sounding as those words are, they were in no wise an exaggeration. If the immediate effect of Enea's teachings was only slight, the ensuing result was great and lasting. In spite of various other stimuli, Enea's influence remained

law for the German Humanists, in the same way as the educational book on pedagogy, which had been written by him for the young Ladislaus of Hungary, and which was at that time brought forward again, proved of such fruitful and stimulating effect upon the receptive intellect of Maximilian, who followed the dull and unresponsive Frederick.

The real Humanistic emperor, the one after the hearts of the Humanists, was undoubtedly Maximilian. This German, with his perennial adolescence, appeared in their eyes as an ideal figure, the same as to Dante and Petrarch would have been the vision of an imaginary imperator. It was not accidental or coincidental for them that their bodily kaiser lived at the time of Leo X. However, had they been closer observers they would have easily noticed the difference between the German prince and the Italian pope. Leo was heir to a learning several centuries old, and the descendant of a literary generation which needed the Renaissance culture as its life element; in the cultivation of it he neglected his duties as a prince and head of the church. He was a man who, by virtue of his capabilities, could have been himself an author or artist, if he had not happened to be pope. Maximilian entered as the first of his generation, and without the living traditions of a great past, into a new educational cult in which he, despite his laudable will, always remained a stranger, partly because he did not have

the capacity fully to penetrate into it, and partly because he lacked the necessary concentration, owing to his warlike campaigns and the manifold dissipations of a life divided between the court and his hunting expeditions.

Maximilian's political activity was a strenuous one which we should call feverish. It was devoted to the inner reorganization of Germany and its fortification and solidification abroad. For the former, three institutions were of eminent importance: The organization of a Supreme Court of justice (*Kammergericht*), and the division of Germany into ten precincts, based upon the easier carrying out of court sentences and destined to regulate jurisprudence and strengthen civic order; second, the inauguration of a "Universal Peace" decree, which abolished armistices in individual sections of the country, which were usually concluded for only short time periods, and finally compelled the termination of the innumerable feuds and the frequent territorial wars, especially the lawless and brutal expeditions of the robber barons; third, the Council of the Empire, a régime which provided for deputies during the emperor's frequent absences, and the creation of a cabinet of princes, which was supposed to assist him in the settling of affairs of importance. However, this cabinet so far as it entered upon its sphere of activity, only contributed to weaken the imperial prestige.

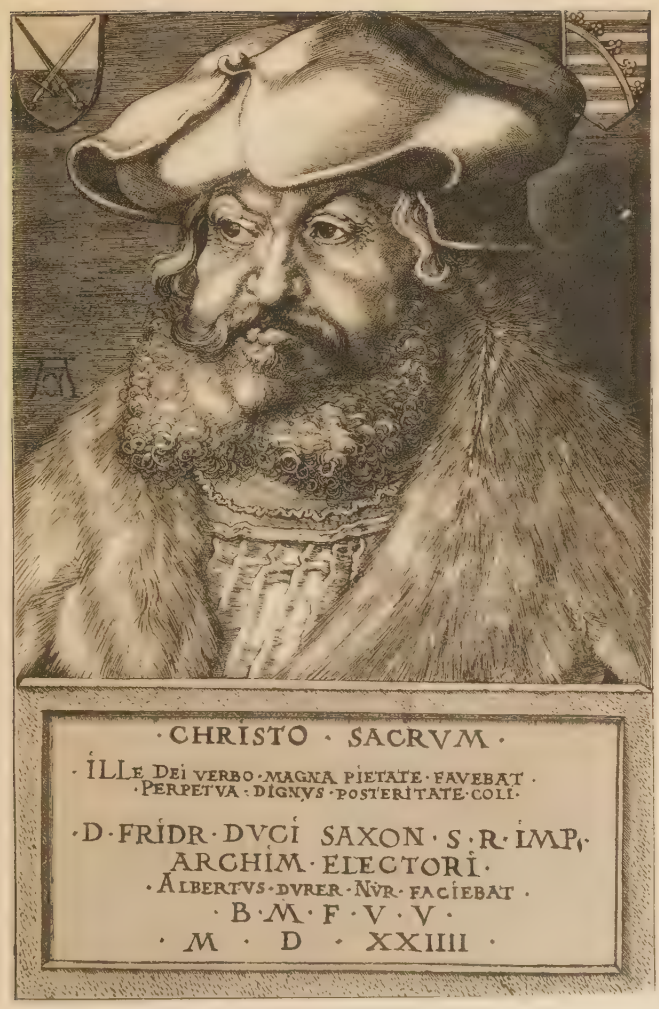
The "Universal Peace" shared the fate of its predecessors and became as little a universal peace for the country as they had been. The robberies never wholly disappeared despite the honest endeavor of the emperor, but increased through the everlasting wars, and degenerated into the baser sort of warfare and crusades in which mercenaries were employed. The Supreme Kammergericht was only a caricature of a high court authority and soon deteriorated into the procrastination mania, through which it became the object of the jesting scorn of all those seeking justice. Moreover, the remaining institutions which were planned for the inner organization of the empire met with scant success, and not infrequently had the reverse effect of what was expected.

The universal penny tithe, the empire duty from which a lasting replenishment of the revenue was anticipated, brought very little returns and by no means relieved the emperor of his steady and unpleasant companion—impecuniosity. It was evident that Maximilian pursued too numerous warlike undertakings, and endless vexation was caused by his unsteady, restless ways, which were more adapted to the beginning than to the successful completion of a task. He was hampered, too, by the far greater political skill of his opponents. In consequence of all these circumstances, the political accomplishments of Maximilian were trifling, de-

spite his laudable efforts. He could not hold the land possessions gained by his marriage with Maria of Burgundy; he was not able to prevent the separation of Switzerland from Germany; he could not do anything against France, which had gravely offended him, although he vented his patriotic spite upon that country; and he ignominiously failed in his repeated attempts to continue the old part of the imperator in Italy, perhaps because he sometimes allied himself with the pope, sometimes with Venice, and after a short interval fought his old ally.

In spite of these failures in his political life and his unheroic attitude, Maximilian appeared at all times of his life as a favorite of the poets and scientists. He did not gain this favor through presents, as his finances were nearly always too low to permit the increase of those of the poets. The frequently bestowed titles of "Pfalzgraf, or "poet laureate," were flattering tokens of his patronage for a short time only. Nor was it the splendor of his court, for he had no permanent residence, and changed his abode too quickly to permit of any fixed domicile.

It was because they enjoyed the indomitable work of this zealous man that Maximilian engaged the sympathies of those who were destined to judge men for posterity; they liked the ever juvenile manner of the aging monarch, whose devious ways of politics they could not understand. Furthermore,


·CHRISTO · SACRVM ·
· ILLE DEI VERBO · MAGNA PIETATE · FAVEBAT ·
· PERPETVA · DIGNVS · POSTERITATE · COLI ·
· D · FRIDR · DVCI SAXON · S · R · IMP ·
ARCHIM · ELECTORI ·
· ALBERTVS · DVRER · NVR · FACIEBAT ·
· B · M · F · V · V ·
· M · D · XXIIII ·

by Louis XII, is sung again and again, so often that its melody remains a guide for the folk song for decades. In preference, however, to the uncertain future, they liked to dwell upon the joyful events of the present,—the Swiss war (1499), the Bavarian-Palatine war (1504), the many expeditions against Venice,—and to praise the victories of the emperor, as well as his bravery and courage, in case he was not successful. When the emperor died, the dangers were far more threatening than before, since the fear of the Turks had been roused to the utmost degree, the French inspiration of power had risen through important successes and because of the dazzling appearance of their young ruler, while much desired Italy had spurned the hand of Germany;—even then the realization that the emperor's strivings had been unsuccessful, if there was a realization of it at all, was overshadowed by the lamentation caused by his death and the glorification of his illustrious manliness.

POETRY

Learned poetry distinguishes itself from the folk song preëminently through its greater generality, its neglect of details, and its uncharacteristic laudation of the person (subject). Even when the Humanists spoke of a certain battle, or of some action which was significant in the life of the kaiser or

in the history of the empire, they used such habitually trite expressions that one could, with the lauding of the battle in Bohemia, just as well think of the struggle of Thermopylæ, and of Augustus instead of the emperor, as a patron of poets. Considering what they contained, those poems and laudatory speeches, which would fill a respectable-looking volume, were of little worth, nor was their intrinsic literary value of great importance, if one excluded some individual products of Celtis and Hutten; yet this loud-sounding singing for the palm of the various nations—for Italians also, and the important ones,—Ermolao Barbaro and Condolfo Collenuccio, took part in it—was an irrefutable evidence of the exalted position which Maximilian held in the hearts and minds of his contemporaries. In the chorus of praise was an Italian whose panegyrics had been hitherto unprinted and therefore hardly mentioned. He was Ludovico Ticiano, who wrote a book entitled "Of the Praise of the Emperor and of the Germans," in which he,—using a Homeric expression,—described Maximilian as King of the Kings and Duke of the Dukes. He continued: "He is great in war and peace, worthy of all his warlike fame, distinguished not only by reason and soul but also by bodily strength; so skilled in peaceful reign and leadership in war that one is at a loss to decide whether he is dearer to the citizen or to the soldier. For the soldier

could not trust any other general more, he could not dare more, nor give more credit for boldness in seeking dangers and more prudence in overcoming them; the citizen could not want for a juster and gentler ruler, one in which justice and lenience hold about the balance." The author then went on to praise the emperor's simplicity, friendliness, affability, chastity, and above all, his unsophisticated faith in mankind and his unshakable affection for religion, but did not forget to remark that he was reproached for indolence, for bargaining for peace for money's sake and for poverty. However, he repudiated the first two accusations, and consoled him in regard to the last named with the moral commonplace that poverty is no disgrace, and by reminding him of the ancient times when Cyrus and Alexander had been poor.

Perhaps this universal homage on the part of the authors was produced by a certain feeling of solidarity, or at least was supported by it, for it was well known that Maximilian had a literary penchant and loved to compose. The works of the emperor, among which were hunting books and other records which bespoke the wild inclinations of the author, belong to the history of German literature, and not to Humanism, but the greater German works offer such characteristic contributions regarding the recognition of the temperament of their princely author that they must be mentioned

here. They were the *Weisskunig* and the *Teuerdank*.

The conception of both was that of Maximilian, but he left the execution to his secret secretaries, as he did not think he possessed sufficient craft and persistency. The *Teuerdank* was written by Melchior Pfinzing (1484-1535) and the *Weisskunig* by Marx Treitzsauerwein (1470-1527). The *Teuerdank*, the older work, already published in 1517 and much praised on account of its costly makeup, was an allegoric description of the difficulties which were in the way of the marriage between Teuerdank (Maximilian) and Erenreich (Maria von Burgund), the daughter of Romreich (Karl der Kuehn).

The hero, who always appeared accompanied by his faithful companion Erenhold, was to be seduced by the devil through three teachings: following only his natural impulse, successfully going through any adventure, and subjugation of all countries, even the peaceful ones, under his sovereignty. He rejected these teachings because they were in antagonizing contrast to his virtuous way of thinking. The hero was subjected to the temptations of three servants of the devil:—*Fuerwittig, Unfalo* and *Neidelhard*. The first mentioned was the rash desire of the youth, —skill, strength, agility and suppleness of movements, all this without any particular need of them and only to prove them for the sake of devilment.

Unfalo was the charm that lay for the young nobleman in adventures on land and sea, hunting, etc., and at the same time, the precarious position in which the sick man was placed through the pretended wisdom of the physicians, whom he could avoid by a "sensible study of his constitution." Finally Neidelhard was the envy of those opponents which placed the young prince's son in the most hazardous positions in his warlike undertakings, which were not always waged because dire need demanded it. The youthful hero was safely guided out of all these distressing plights by his inherent stanchness, and through the genius of love. In spite of his deliverance, however, it was a long while before he reached the longed-for goal, since there were not only tournaments at the court of his betrothed, when the desire of many was satisfied, but the yearning of the individual was pushed to the background, and there was also a postponement of the wedding. Then, after the pledge had been given and the priest had bestowed his blessing, the actual union of the two was fixed—as could have been expected—for the time of his victorious return from an expedition against the Turks.

This endless longing for war with the Turks also played the chief part in *Weisskunig,* a work which had to remain unfinished because the Turkish war did not come to pass. In this book, Maximilian himself was frequently the original author, whose

dictations were arranged by his secretary. This was at least the case in the history of the wars of Maximilian from 1478-1513, that is, a continuation of the deeds described in *Teuerdank,* but in far less degree in the first two parts. The first told of the wooing and marriage of Frederick III, and of the happy moment of harmony between pope and emperor; and the second of the youth and education of Maximilian.

Although of the latter's writings only a very few emanated from Maximilian, they are more interesting to us than the third book, because this spoke in such a distorting, jumbling way of historical events, by mixing prose and poetry, that it was impossible to comprehend them, even with the aid of commentaries. The first two books, however, dealt with clearly recognizable events which were of great importance, although there was not much originality in them. The education of the young prince was described there. One learned, partly from the prose portion, which was often dull, and partly from the fine wood-engravings of Hans Burgkmaier, how Maximilian got his training in the various open and secret sciences and arts. He learned "black magic," and those woodcuttings, which had to rest two centuries and a half after their execution before they were published in 1775, showed how Maximilian received his coaching in many technical accomplishments and in every branch of the science of

war, until he developed into an expert and a man of learning. Neither is there any lack of special instruction for his subsequent activity as a ruler of people.

A proof of his knowledge was given in a conversation with his father, "Weisskunig," to whom he related an abstract of his secret wisdom, and his conception of the art of statesmanship and the science of government. As the five chief points of the latter he designated: the teaching of the omnipotence of God, of the influence of the planets upon the fate of men, of the reason of man, of the too great placidness of the government, of the too great severity in force. He gained the full approval of his father and the admiration of his biographer through his convictions, which crystallized during his intellectual training.

The somewhat boastful feature which is easily recognizable in these writings showed itself in the orders which the emperor gave to the artist Albert Dürer and which were executed by him and some of his eminent colleagues. The *Ehrenzug* and the *Triumphzug* were both works which were calculated to give the public a similar conception of the splendor and power of the sovereign as historical works impart to their readers, and both products were representative in every respect of the works peculiar to the Renaissance epoch. Regarding the *Ehrenpforte,* John Stabius, the emperor's learned adviser,

geographer and historiographer says that the "portal of honors of the Emperor Maximilian in their shape had been erected by him like in old times the 'Arcus triumphalis' of the Roman emperors in Rome, of which some were broken, and others yet to be seen." And Willibald Pirckheimer gave scientific elucidations regarding the *Triumphzug,* saying that in one of the laurel wreaths of honor carried in the procession, each leaf had written upon it a good quality in man, so that the wreath contained an alphabetical enumeration, as it were, of all the main virtues which closed with "victoria" and "virtus," the crowning of the whole edifice of virtue and victory. The whole procession was the allegoric interpretation of an honor for which the Renaissance princes of Italy were longing, and the artistic picturing of which they liked none the less.

Already Maximilian had availed himself of the assistance of the learned in this work, and he well knew how to use their help and how to promote their activities, true to his own saying that "it is they who govern, and should not be subjects to be governed, and it is to them that all honors are due, as God and nature had given them preference over all the others." His predilections were, however, rather one-sided; he had no special use for Latin poetry, though he made many poets laureate; his interest lay in sciences, preferably in researches in

geography and history, particularly that of his dynasty and empire.

Commissioned by him, travels were made, exploitations undertaken, genealogical tables designed, numismatic lists compiled, etc., and it was his latent idea to gather a great collection of monuments illustrating the German achievements of the Middle Ages, as performed centuries after his day. It is touching to recall the zeal which the emperor displayed in these studies, but it was characteristic that in all his work he could not deny the prince and Hapsburger within him. He impressed upon his delegates, in his instructions to copy chronicles, "*aller swebischen Grafen geslecht und die vor Zeiten der Graven von Hapsburg gesipt gewesen sein,*" and especially recommended to them to note the names of the "*Graven von Hapspurg die abgestorben sein und nit in das geslecht gehoeren, davon kunig Rudolf komen ist.*" In his inquiries and in the investigations made by others, he only regarded the highborn, their descent and genealogy. But who would reproach him for his conception of history as a record of strife and peace of kings? It was at that time universal with high and low, and long remained the only one in vogue.

The German princes, who were so independent in a political respect that more than once they jeopardized the existence and unity of the empire, and who were unanimous perhaps only in antago-

nizing the emperor, knew nothing of Humanistic culture and smiled, when they tolerated it at all, at the panegyrics of the court poets and the fiery declamations of the orators. There were some who possessed an appreciation of education and oratory, like the prince elect of Brandenburg, who maintained relations with Joh. Trithemius and not only regarded his newly founded university with the loving eyes of a father, but with the critical air of the connoisseur, or the prince-elect Philip von der Pfalz who, inspired by a certain feeling of independence without being frankly anti-pope, favored science, the fostering of which must bring the emancipation of the mind. However, the majority of them paid no heed to the awakening of the new culture, or if they were sagacious feared an impairment of the power of the clergy and their princely prestige.

As the princes' favors and the good faith of the poets were dependent on one another, the Humanists were not overzealous in praise of the princes, who did not take any notice of them. Only three could be singled out who were the sharers of universal praise, because they knew how to spend their wealth,—Eberhard von Württemberg, Friedrich der Weise, (Frederick the Wise) von Sachsen and Albrecht von Mainz. "That is a prince whom, as far as judgment and fine sense for art are concerned, I would not know to compare with in the whole

of the Roman Empire." In these words, it was said, Maximilian at the bier of Eberhard extolled the excellence of the departed. The living Eberhard was the recipient of the emperor's recognition in the form of the rank of a duke (Worms 1495). Eberhard (1445-98) fully deserved the praise of his superior and the panegyrics lavished upon him, not only by German, but by Italian Humanists. Was it not Marsilio Ficino who sent him one of his books which treated of the sun, with a dedication full of subtle flattery: "Like the sun amongst the stars, you are beaming forth among the German princes."

He became known to the Italians through his journey to Rome in 1482, on which he also stopped at Florence, and visited Lorenzo and his people. He was familiar to the Germans and held in high esteem by them because of his statesmanship and his zeal for learning. He proved the former when he secured unity and integrity for his country through treaties. The Suabian alliance brought security abroad and internal law and order. His interest in learning was manifested by the founding of the University of Tübingen, and by his kindness and liberality to the scientists and poets.

Eberhard was not a learned man himself. His tutor reported that he "was prevented to make a Latin scholar of him, for his guardians thought it was sufficient if he could read and write in German." Eberhard did not deem this small measure of knowl-

edge adequate, and strove to instruct himself through translations and thus make up in old age the omission of his youth. Through diligent use of the translations he became an expert in his knowledge of the Bible, and acquired a versatile familiarity with the teachings of the ancients, such, for instance, as Columella on agriculture, Petrus von Argellata on medicine, the book of the example of the seven old sages, and historical reports like those of Livy, Sallust and Josephus; and, among the orators, both Cicero and Demosthenes. Only the poets were missing, not because he had an antipathy for them, since it was otherwise, especially in his youth, when he was not opposed to the joys of life, but because he had no suitable person to help in the solution of the difficult tasks. However, he never spurned the entertainment of good reading, which his mother, *das Frauclein von Oesterreich,* had liked. Regarding this, we have the testimony of Heinrich Steinhoevels, the Suabian, as to the translations of the Fables of Æsop, and the novels of Boccaccio and Niklas von Wyle, some of them expressly dedicated to Eberhard. Included among these volumes were treatises on serious political and religious questions of the time, especially a version of a pathetic and excellently told love story, "Euryalus and Lukretia," by Enea Silvio. Above all was a work which, written at Eberhard's court, seems to have been dedicated through its ardent praises to him, although

it admitted that Eberhard did not like personal compliments. This book was only recently printed for the first time,—and was a collection of August Tuenger's "Facetiousnesses." When he compiled his little volume, the collector was thirty years of age, a man of Humanistic culture, but one who did not consider it his duty to teach the prince; he only entertained him with his ditties and stories of things which concerned the Herr Graf himself, or occurred amid his immediate surroundings.

Tuenger followed the method of the majority of historians of his day and spoke of peasants, wenches and parsons. He scoffed at the stupidity of the peasants, sometimes bestowing praise—perhaps not wholly without a democratic purpose—upon the triumph of the latter's cunning, or he preferred to show the victory of evil, which intelligently detects the weaknesses of the opponent, over the clumsy good. He censured the faithlessness and love for dress, and the desire for the pleasures of wrongful love. Very rarely did he tell of true love and then not without innuendo, in his tales dealing with the erotic, in which he, as a matter of fact, drew a sharp line between good and bad, faithful and faithless women. In coarse tales he spoke of the priests and their indecency, and related stories in which the clergy who strove to fool others were themselves fooled. He also referred disparagingly to their other bad qualities. To illustrate their ignorance,

he said that a sexton who could not read himself had to point out to the priest, in the holy mass book, the passages which he was going to use. He made them impose severe penance upon their confessing members, while they themselves indulged in their lustful cravings; their mock modesty he declared lasted only until they were appointed to a good position, when it was turned into haughtiness; they amassed money for the "Pfruende," the result of which was the maladministration of the respective offices. Through this attitude toward the clergy, Tuenger joined the ranks of the Humanistic moralists of those times, but he, like them, endeavored to combat the corruption of the period; he warned against the litigation mania, scoffed at dream interpretation and other superstitions, promoted patriotism, not only by contrasting the faithful German with the treacherous Italian, but by urging upon his countrymen the use of their own language, which was fully equal to any foreign tongue. In this latter argument he may have thought of Eberhard, who loved science without being able to master Latin.

What Tuebingen did for Southwest Germany, Wittenberg, through the university which was founded during the flourishing period of Humanism, is claimed to have done for the central part of the empire. Like Eberhard and Tuebingen, Frederick the Wise (1463-1526), prince elect of Saxony,

also a confidant of the emperor and repeatedly honored by him, represented for Wittenberg in a most fitting manner the interests of the country. Frederick was a prudent prince and one of the most influential and powerful men who, after the death of Maximilian, without any effort on his part, received several votes for emperor. He loved peace and was much pleased when some one interpreted his name: *Friedrich, reich an Fried,* as one who did not expand his empire, but carefully preserved what he had inherited. Frederick was clever in his counsel, and seemed always to find the correct solution in difficult matters. He once drew from a naïve admirer the exclamation: "If Duke Friedrich had not been born a prince, he ought at least to have been the village magistrate." He was slow and very deliberate in execution. For instance, he had letters altered from ten to twenty times before forwarding them, and although the Reformation had its inception and origin in his country, he did not accept it until after much thought and meditation. He remained true, in a large measure, to the old customs and usages of the Church, went to confession, and never forgot to hear mass, even when hunting. He did not observe the ceremonies only, but possessed a pure, gentle and really pious mind. He never swore, but employed words in his address that were well chosen for his surroundings: "*Meine liebe frumme Kinderlein.*" Even against his enemies, of

whom he had very few, he did not use harsh words. The most he would say was, perhaps, "God forgive them for this." He was kind to men, and preferred giving outright instead of lending, because the memory of his debtors, to whom, by the way, Maximilian belonged, was an unpleasant one to him. He expected a similar frank honesty of dealing on the part of his people, and as he condemned the uncharitable in the mildness and gentleness of his heart, so he criticised a nobleman with the following words, quite unusual to him: "Verily, he is a bad man, for he is uncharitable to the poor."

Frederick was not learned. He had studied Latin in his youth, showed a pathetic love and sympathy for his teacher until the latter's death, and retained in faithful memory the acquired knowledge, but he did not care to speak Latin, and only quoted the sayings from Cato and Terenz which he remembered, or interspersed his speeches with a few Latin quotations that betrayed an inclination to the language rather than an actual knowledge of it. He loved to mix with the learned professors, as can be seen in the writings of his historiographer, who says: "He has certainly held in honor and love all learned and artistic people, also shown them benefits and advantages in a manifold way; he used them also in counsel, at his table, and in all great affairs and questions." In order to substantiate this judgment,

the writer cited a long list of all thus favored. Without attempting to reproduce this collection it may be well to speak of one whom the above mentioned historiographer forgot to give consideration. This was the historiographer himself, George Spalatin, (properly *Burkhard aus Spalt,* hence Spalatin, 1484-1545). He was a politician and historian, a theologian and Humanist. He conducted the business affairs for two rulers, Frederick the Wise and Johann der Bestændige, and described the life and history of both with remarkable fidelity and skill. In his historical works Spalatin was an ardent Lutheran, in spite of his often dull style and his somewhat forced analytical method of narrative, which prevented him from sifting the causes of events and showing the relation and consequences of the different facts. For instance, when referring to the burning of a Lutheran martyr in Vienna, in 1524, and a disastrous fire several days later, he deducted a connection between the two and used the words: " As if God wanted to say, 'If you burn my children without guilt or other cause, then I can also start a fire and burn down.' "

The most pleasing aspect of Spalatin is that of a Humanist. He was an investigator and learned professor; he kept up an extensive correspondence, through which he maintained literary connection with the colleagues all over Germany; he was full of zeal for the Greek language, which appeared par-

ticularly touching at first because it was with great difficulty that Greek books were brought across the Alps; he held close relations with Mutian, the brilliant promulgator of great Humanistic ideas, who forgot the tribulations and miseries of this life in his friendship for this pleasing youth. Spalatin remained true to those juvenile sentiments, and with devotion to his master, he coupled the love for the old studies which the teacher had awakened in him, notwithstanding politics and religion.

The third of the German princes, Albert,—prince elect, cardinal, and archduke of Mainz,—had during a long life (1480-1545) developed a versatile and successful, if not always famous, activity. He was not a patriot who, in all that he does, considers the interest of his fatherland first. He was not a man of religious thinking who always made his conscience his guide. He knew how to veer around with skill, and always managed to uphold his perilous position, as when he once accepted the dedication of a book which argued against the worldly power of the pope. He showed his teeth to all those who, in the main struggle of Humanism, confessed themselves defenders of the assailed religion. Subsequently, however, he retrieved his religious prestige—lost through such action—by a rigorous persecution of the religious opponents, whom he was only too ready to call heretics, and by a meek submission to the papal commands.

But even if he did lack political and religious fortitude, he showed throughout his life an open mind for the literary and art interests of his time, and he was perhaps the only German prince who gathered around himself a sort of literary circle. In a dedication which Reuchlin sent to Albert (1518), and in which he praised the prince on account of his fertile mind, his learning, his moral purity and his active support of all needy ones, he interrupted his eulogy, partly because he feared it might sound like flattery and partly because he thought,—"Why should I enumerate all your virtues? Do not men like Ulrich von Hutten, Heinrich Stromer, and Lorenz Truchsess, who surround you, speak for you loudly enough?" The last named, a deacon of the church of Mainz, was a noble-minded, scientifically inclined man, and therefore a theologian devoted to the new school. Stromer was a physician with marked versatility of education who, besides his medical authors, was well versed in the classics, and upheld the Humanistic principles against its opponents with all his energy, which was untiring. Of Hutten we shall have to give a further description later, for his activity as court official in Mainz, in which capacity he once undertook a journey as delegate of the legation to France, was only temporary.

With the mention of Hutten we recall the man who brought him into the service of Mainz, and also

two books which he wrote about the Mainz court. This was Eitelwolf von Stein, (abt. 1450-1515). He died too soon to be mentioned by Reuchlin as among the shining lights at the archducal court. Had he lived he would have been referred to, as he was also Reuchlin's friend, and used to describe the opponents of the former with the coarse expression of "Kapnioslæuse." He was one of the first knights who delved into serious scientific studies. He had been educated in Italy, and felt himself, although he remained a knight and became a high official, so much a member of the learned circle that he retorted upon another knight, who spoke to him as a "gentlemen of our rank"; "Which rank do you mean? The one of a knight, or that of a learned professor? I belong to both."

He wrote or composed nothing, since with his official duties—he was, to use modern expressions, a member of parliament for Brandenburg and prime minister—he had no leisure for literary pursuits; but he supported with great zeal every mental aspiration, strove to reorganize the Frankfort University, which he had helped to found, as an institution of Humanism, and wished to reshape the Mainzer college which, as he soon after the beginning of his activity noticed, was in reality a theological one, into a model university, and to unite around himself a select academy of sciences by sending out a call for eminent young men of the learned fraternity.

Among the latter he reckoned in the first place upon Hutten and he chose him for the work which was the immediate cause of Hutten's appointment in Mainz,—that was the panegyric on Albert. In this poem, Hutten talked grandiloquently: he claimed that the greatness of his subject was known already through previous generations; he called the Rhine and all the other river-gods to greet the newly elected ruler, enthroned on the banks of that stream; he compared him to Hercules, who at the parting of the ways had chosen virtue, and praised him as a paragon of moderation and morals, of charity and love for the arts and sciences, by specially emphasizing the inferiority of Albert's royal equals. On the other hand, Hutten knew how to speak freely, as he was wont, to his royal wellwisher; he not only proved this through his strongly anti-papal preface to Vallas' book about the Constantine Donation, which was addressed to Albert, but also through his dialogue concerning court life or, as it is better known, "Misaulus," the enemy of the princely courts. In this dialogue, (a conversation between Misaulus and Kastus and an imitation of previous writings) the court was not only the place of submission, as it would appear to all enemies of serfdom, but it was a breeding place for disease and vice.

In fact, Hutten did speak altogether in generalities about this court life, nor did he confine himself

wholly to Mainz, though it was the only court with which the author was familiar. Hutten taught, according to F. D. Strauss, "The majority of the German princes are now poor in consequence of their squandering, their revelries and high life, the court official has the greatest difficulties to squeeze his scanty wages out to them, and often, instead of making money in this service, has to live on his own money in part. Also in the choice and appreciation of their servants the princes don't show much common sense. They expect to have in their retinue athletic figures, regardless of any mental capacity, and smaller, insignificant-looking people, even if they are the most skilled and cleverest, have to take a back seat."

If anybody at that time had asked Hutten, who was loath to stay at royal courts, what his aspirations were, he would have received the answer: "To be an independent knight on his castle." Later, when he had sloughed the knightly one-sidedness and gained more penetrating wisdom, he would have pointed to a town. For he had come to recognize that the towns had to assist, as he expressed himself, "deutscher Nation Vermeiden Schaden, Spott und Hohn," that is to say: "They were the real places of mental culture."

CHAPTER III

THE GERMAN CITIES

THE political and mental development of the towns and citizenship was one of the most remarkable features in the period of transition from the Middle Ages to modern times. The solid walls defied the assaults of the knights; the inhabitants, in their feeling of security, applied their leisure to the expansion of their trade, the growth of their constitutional government, and the introduction of a new justice and a new education.

He who wished to write a history of the German cities in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries would have had to compile a long list of all those which, by virtue of their prosperity, offered a guarantee for the stability and soundness of German life. Among them Frankfort, which was already admired by foreigners, would have received honorable mention, as well as other towns which were the seats of schools or universities. He, however, who wished to enumerate the chief places of Humanistic activities, would have been satisfied with the mention of Strasburg, Augsburg and Nürnberg.

In one of the comedies of the last quarter of the century, the Roman authors Cicero and Cæsar, resurrected from Hades, appeared on a journey through Germany and listened to a dialogue about the wonders they encountered in that quondam barbaric country. Strasburg appeared to them as "the most beautiful of the German cities, a sentinel and an ornament to the Fatherland"; of Augsburg they thought, "Rome with its old Quirites had emigrated there," and Nürnberg was supposed to be "Germany's Korinth, if one contemplated the artist's wonderful works, but if you looked upon the walls and battlements, no Mummius would easily be able to conquer it."

Strasburg deserved to be preëminent among these towns.

It was there, under the constant menace of France, that a specific German mental life developed, and it was there that Humanistic thought first took root. The pioneer of this new idea was Jakob Wimpheling. He and his colleagues distinguished themselves in many respects from their contemporaries of a similar pursuit. He was half a Reuchlinist (*medius Reuchlinista*), thus declared the letters of the obscurants (*Dunkelmänner*) regarding him. At first glance this would mean that he was on the side of Reuchlin, with half his heart in the famous controversy of the latter with the Koelner, but it signified

more; he was only half initiated into Humanistic ways and ideas.

Wimpheling spoke a faulty Latin in consequence of his indiscriminating study of the Augustinian, and subsequent unclassic Christian periods. He did not understand Greek, and could never rid himself of the thought that he contemplated a heathen period when he was occupying himself with the ancient times, and consequently he could not combat his theological Christian fear. Intolerant himself, and by no means inclined to give way to an opponent, he was highly indignant as soon as he heard contradictions to his assertions. His Humanistic pugnacity was further strengthened by his stubbornness. He was a proper theologian, and lay priest at that, and attacked the monks because of their immorality and their contempt for science. One of these attacks was once the cause of a literary fight. In his book on the purity of morals (*De integritate*), he had much to say against the monks and made the assertion, which now appears very natural but at that time created a great sensation,—that Augustinus had not been a monk at all. A book, on the strength of which the Augustinians strove to prove that the church father did belong to the class of the monks, was not of his authorship at all. In the same volume, he had compiled a list of all the clergy of a non-specific order, with Moses and Christ at the head, to prove his claim of the precedence of

the lay clergy because they had done such excellent work. The enumeration made the opponents feel far more concerned than the assertion did, but, nevertheless, they attacked the latter because they could not well find fault with the former; for the news of a sermon by Murner, having for its theme that Christ himself had been a monk, could hardly be taken seriously. So it happened that a long and protracted controversy began in which, with high-sounding words the battle was fought, over the significance of the monastic clergy. It was a fight which was taken before the pope by the enraged monks and was terminated, but not finally decided, by the pontiff. This literary wrangle has been called an overture to the Reuchlin controversy, but one can see that Wimpheling was only a "medius Reuchlinista," because he fought the wearers of the cowl and their extravagant claims, and not the clergy and ecclesiastical state of affairs as a whole.

Emphatically he could not combat them, since he belonged to them himself, so far as his vocation and his views were concerned. In order to give them distinct expression, he saw fit to engage in a literary battle which, had he been less conceited and quarrelsome, he could well have avoided. There was Jakob Locher (1471-1528), who showed by his nickname—Philosemus—that he loved classical studies, and proved through many a clever work, (for instance, a Horace edition, the first in Ger-

many), his right to bear such a name. Now he was opposed to his colleague, the Ingolstadt professor, Georg Zingel. While the latter called theology the only true science and condemned every other, especially the Humanistic, and asserted that poetry was useless and even harmful, so far as it was not subordinated to the mother science, Locher declared that the theology fostered by Zingel was scholastic nonsense and maintained that the real truth, namely, that of the Bible and the church fathers, was honored by him, but it must not regard poetry as a submissive servant, but as an equal companion, so that both together formed a harmonious whole with the meaning of real science. Locher expressed this contrast, which was aggravated by the different views on life conduct,—the gay, easy and irresponsible one of the Humanist, and the serious and austere one of the theologian,—in two disparaging writings, 1503 and 1505. In these he, after the manner of the polemic fraternity, mixed up the personality and the subject of the opponent in an unfair way, in which he dealt side blows that might have been destined to hit others, but did not.

Wimpheling was much concerned over an attack directed against a colleague and friend, and he therefore encouraged the assailed party in his defense, and supported him in a complaint which he made at the university. Partly as a protest against this un-

welcome and unwarranted interference and partly as a continuation of his fight against the old-fashioned views, Locher published his *Comparatio Malæ et Musæ,* in which he exposed most vigorously the scholastic "Mule-Theology" with its caviling investigations, but defended poetry as the divine gift of the muses and that art which was fostered by so many illustrious poets. He proved that it can well be made compatible with the recognition of God and was, therefore, promoted by the Church teachers of former times.

This book created less sensation among the colleagues than it really deserved and soon passed into oblivion, nor was Locher's name often mentioned afterwards. The reason for this can be traced partly to the isolation in which he lived in later years, but is better explained by the fact that he was the demagogue of yesterday, liberal of today and the conservative of tomorrow, as hostile to the views of the younger Humanistic period as to those of the older theologians.

For the historian, however, Locher's belief remains worthy of attention. It was a conviction which could be called an esthetic one, because it was the outcome of the pleasure which he felt in viewing beauty of form, as well as the transitory historical one, because it appreciated the requirements of the present but did not break with the past. By drawing all the good possible from it, he

tried to move gradually over to a new field of education.

In those days Locher's book had few friends and many enemies. Even Murner, who otherwise was not on very friendly terms with Wimpheling, counted himself among the latter. The Wimphelians rallied in great numbers to defend their master, and Wimpheling himself took the field, in a wrathful outburst which he called "Defense" of Theology, against Locher's disgraceful book (*contra turpem libellum Philomusi defensio theologiæ*). He tried to disparage the personality and the purpose of his adversary, by pronouncing him unworthy of the crowning as a poet laureate, by trying to unravel irreconcilable contradictions in the former and present writings of the enemy and by striving to set the inquisitor upon him, and threatening him with exile, or at least with the pillory.

Wimpheling declared that poetry was useless, even harmful, because it could not be of any advantage in the decision of a litigation nor in the curing of a disease; he denied to it the name of a science, and to call it an art would have meant to the brave Wimpheling a defamation rather than a title of honor. Finally, he disparaged the object by drawing attention,—with a great flourish, but with vast ignorance of history,—to the fact that the majority of poets had died an ignominious death. He exempted only one class from his sweeping condemna-

tion,—the Christian or, more adequately expressed, the theologians,—who employed for their discourses the language of poetry instead of prose. Thus far a German Humanist forgot himself, impelled by his polemic zeal which overshot the mark, and by the smug self-complacency of his limited views, to condemn those treasures which signified real joy of life to the Humanists of all countries and made them all the happier for it.

If this thought had been the occasional utterances of a single individual, it would deserve no more than passing mention, but it requires strong emphasis since it was the programme of a whole party. Leaning toward Wimpheling's idea, it was Zasius who wrote a treatise asserting that the profane authors must not be read by the clergy, and it was Konrad Wimpina who wrote his "Apologia of theology against those who regard poetry as their all, their whole resource and their mental protection." In this he opposed the assertions of Locher, and tried to prove the uselessness and even harmfulness of the works of the poets.

He was bitter in his words and said one should consult all the poets of the Roman and Greek ancient periods, and try with their help to solve the important theological question: *sacramentalia a sacramentis distincta.* Wimpheling was similarly limited in his patriotic polemic. He was preëminently German, and felt only contempt for the Swiss and

their wars of liberation. He had no consideration for the life and work of other nations, but ascribed all the sterling qualities in men to the Germans. The one-sidedness of his patriotism was flagrantly shown in his hatred of the French. He expressed this in letters, and in mediocre German verses, which were addressed to Robert Gaguin, who had approved of the abduction of Anna of Britanny, Maximilian's betrothed, by King Charles VIII of France. The same views were expressed in a book written in German and Latin, called *Germania* (Germany), which was answered by Thomas Murne.

This last controversy was not only characteristic of the two opponents engaged in it, but of the Alsatian learned community, indeed, of the whole history of German Humanism, so that we deem it necessary to describe it in detail:

Wimpheling's book *Germania,* which appeared in Latin print in 1501, while the German version was given only to the members of the Strasburger Council, was divided into two parts which, strictly speaking, did not belong together. In the one for the people, the author dealt with the constitution of the township; in the other, he tried to prove that Alsatia had never belonged to France. This proof was conducted in a three-fold manner:

By probable conjecture, by strong testimonials, and by prominent authors. At the head of his book he placed the sentence: "Never has a Roman king

descended from Gallic ancestry, but the kings hailed, if not from Italy, from other provinces of the Roman Empire, from Thrace, Arabia, Pannonia and Illyria, until Karl der Grosse, who was a German, gave the Roman Empire as a legacy to the Germans, who have ruled it in uninterrupted sequence. Cæsar's opinion that the Rhine was the border of Gaul was an erroneous one, for between Gaul proper and the Rhine is situated the whole of the Austrasian country, and the Vosges, which form an excellent line of demarcation."

This main sentence was supported by several conjectures: through the memory of Pepin, the Austrasian, which had penetrated far into the national consciousness, and even appeared in proverbial utterances; through the Germanism of Karl der Grosse, who had given German names to his children and the calendar months, whose favorite abode was always that country, where he preferred to found cloisters and towns; and through the heroism of the ancient Germans, who could not be subjugated by the rulers of the earth, Cæsar and Augustus, and would much less have tolerated the yoke of the French, far inferior to the former.

These conjectures were not sufficient to disperse all doubts, and therefore evidences and proofs were dug up from documents and authors. For instance, the testimony of Tacitus, who named Koeln, Speyer, Worms and Strasburg among the German towns; of

Ammianus Marcellinus and the *corpus juris* which followed him; of Enea Silvio and M. A. Sabellico, who used the term "Deutscher" for Karl der Grosse; of Pope Innocent III, who employed the expression in a document which the Roman Empire had transferred from the Greeks to the Germans; and finally of Petrarch, who said that the whole valley of the Rhine was a splendid part of Germany.

After Wimpheling called attention to the coincidence that both France and Strasburg carried a lily in their respective coat-of-arms, and drew further deductions from this fact, he concluded, with patriotic pride: "We are Germans and not Frenchmen, and our country, as Germans live in it, ought to be called Germany, and not France. This fact has been acknowledged and recognized by the Romans already. For, when they had conquered us, the Alemanni on the banks of the Rhine, and crossing the river, saw the inhabitants on the opposite bank equaled us in bold bravery, size and fairness of complexion, also in customs and conduct of life, they called us 'Germanen,' that is, Brothers. But that we, these Germans, do not resemble the Gauls in complexion, language, face, nor in character and customs, is positive. And therefore our town and the whole of Alsatia preserve with all their right the liberty of the Roman Empire, and is going to preserve it, in spite of French arguments and attempts of conquest, in the future."

Wimpheling was much praised by his adherents for this book, and especially so in the panegyric of an inspired juvenile poet, in which the Humanist was called Camillus, because he had newly founded the Alsatian province, Lycurgus, because he had recommended law for his town, and Numa, because he had sanctified, as it were, the actual conditions by divine utterance. The author was spoiled by praise and stung by the scoffing and sarcasm of Murner, who now published, in opposition to "Germany," his own work "Neudeutschland" (New Germany). He arrayed assertion against assertion in this book, declaring that, as a matter of fact, a few Roman kings had been of Gallic descent, and Karl der Grosse was a Gaul, who later preferred to pass as a German; that the Rhine was Germany's border, not Germany's river, and that Austrasia had belonged to Gaul, which was proven amongst other things by the reign of Clovis. He repudiated Wimpheling's claims and rejected his so-called proofs. Wimpheling had accepted Germanism on the strength of a single proverb of Pepin, to which Murner replied: "Then Solomon must have been a German, for it is often said: 'Even if I possessed the wisdom of Solomon, I could not accomplish this.'" If Karl der Grosse was of German origin because he spoke German, then Maximilian must have been French by birth, for he spoke an excellent French. The independence of the Germans had only

lasted as long as their heathenism; as soon as they took upon themselves the yoke of Christendom, they showed themselves ready to bear that yoke.

Wimpheling's proofs were laughed at by Murner. The former had arraigned seven authors, to which Murner replied: "He who speaks of seven, is prone to tell lies." Wimpheling laid great stress on Tacitus when referring to "Germanen," to which Murner retorted: "Yes, Germanen, that is, brothers of the Romans in bravery, courage and noble sentiments." When Wimpheling had to veer about in order not to suggest, from the coincidence of the lily in France and Strasburg, the construction of equal descent or political community, Murner dwelt with keen relish upon the situation, dispersing all fears, however, which could arise from such a description by using the words: "We are not, and never will be slaves of the Gauls, for we have been endowed with liberty by Karl der Grosse."

But why, we should ask on the strength of this liberal and quite German utterance, was this counterproof against the historical writings of Wimpheling necessary at all? This had been anticipated by Murner and he answered: "That we cannot be made the laughing stock of the whole world through our historical ignorance, that furthermore we may not violate the sacred duty of gratitude towards the French, to whom we are indebted for Christendom and many beneficial institutions, that we may not

become ensnared by them through lulling ourselves in safety caused by our contempt of the French."

Of course, Murner's book was disparaged by all stanch Humanists. It scarcely deserved that fate, despite its superficiality and flippant dealing with serious matters; on the contrary, it is worth our consideration as a rather clever attempt to create a counterweight against exaggerated patriotic fantasies. However, even if the book had approached the way of the brave Alsatian's thinking, it could hardly have met with warm approval. Such welcome was accorded by the Humanists only to the members of their community, which to all intents and purposes formed a genuine league, although it possessed no written statutes. But Murner was no Humanist; the book we have just dealt with, remained almost the only one of its kind written in Latin. Neither was he a learned professor, though he liked occasionally to affect erudition and it was characteristic of him that he strove to popularize learning. Therein lay his chief merit, even if the Humanists were prone to look askance at it. His second merit was the authorship of a respectable number of German poetical writings, satires on the corrupted morals of the clergy and the bad social conditions of his time. He lacked independence in his work and was an emulator of Sebastian Brant, though more intellectual and witty than he.

Sebastian Brant (1457-1521), a native of Stras-

burg, professor in Basel, and from 1500 town clerk in his native town, was a Humanist quite after the heart of Wimpheling. He held limited patriotic views, similar to the former, concurred in a measure in his opinion in regard to the ancient poets, though in his youth he had brought out an edition of Terenz. He antagonized the same enemies, Locher, for instance, and employed violent, almost obscene verses in his fight against the latter, notwithstanding his indebtedness to him, the translator of his "Narrenschiff," for a good deal of his fame. In many respects, however, Brant differed from Wimpheling. He made more use of poetry, composed verses dealing with political and religious affairs and with town gossip, and related many marvelous tales. He sang the praise of his friends and of the men of the past in verses, in the course of which he frequently became unpoetical, in spite of his abundant use of the antique rhythmic meter. This was largely due to his prosaic sentiment and to his mania for allegories, in which, it must be admitted, he often showed a certain wit and grace of description. He felt himself so unmistakably a poet that, despite his official duties, his juridical and historical works, nothing could prevent him from "sipping of the waters of the Hippocrene." He was so sure that he was a pronounced Latinist that he changed his name—Brant—into the better sounding one of Ticio and, equally certain of Humanism, he

acquired the knowledge of Greek under Reuchlin's tutelage, and nourished this knowledge in later years with great devotion. Nevertheless, he did not become a Reuchlinist, although the friend and master implored him to use his patronage, and when he was occasionally mentioned in the letters of the obscurants (*Dunkelmänner*), it was on account of his militancy against the Makulists.

The case of the Makulists was this: Makulists, (this expression is said to have been thought out by Brant), were those theologians who did not accept the dogma of the Immaculate Conception (*immaculata conceptio*), and for that reason were themselves regarded as contaminators of the Holy Virgin. This dogma, which was promulgated at the Basel council and approved by several theological bodies at the end of the century, had some zealous promoters, especially in the Strasburg community, and two poetical laudators in Brant and Wimpheling. The former perhaps found the immediate inducement to praise this dogma in the fact that it was promulgated in Basel, the town to which he had belonged for many years, and, indirectly, it was owing to his piety, which was specially devoted to the cult of the Virgin Mary.

He did not adduce proofs for his opinion; his basis was his religiousness, which could not admit a less noble origin of the Virgin than of the Son, and the omnipotence of God, which can work in the

most remarkable and marvelous manner. Now came the Dominicans, who could not make themselves familiar with this dogma, and may have had their justifiable doubts as to the advisability of antagonizing the authority of the Church, and consequently turned against the laity, who had shown themselves to be the poetical champions of this dogmatic teaching. Brant did not evade the answer.

The fight was accentuated and the order of Franciscans which was hostile to the Dominicans now deemed the position of the latter favorable enough to secure Brant's triumph. To this end the Franciscan Joh. Sprenger and the Dominican Wigand Wirth entered the lists through sermons and public disputations, and since the quarrel grew worse, instead of being terminated through such oratorical tournaments, the two opponents resorted to their lawyers. The Immaculist appealed to Brant, and the Maculist to Thomas Wolff in Strasburg, and subsequently carried an appeal to Rome, because the Dominicans were not willing to abide by the decision made against them. The papal verdict, which was issued in 1502, was a half-measure only. It left the controversial question essentially untouched, and contained merely an interdiction to the contending parties against the use of the offensive term "heretics," the latter part of the decision being a repetition of a papal bull which had been previously imposed somewhere by a predecessor.

The Dominicans gathered fresh courage from this postponement, which they might have regarded as a quasi victory, and published a violent pamphlet against Brant, whom they considered their most formidable opponent. Through this publication they secured an ally in the not very prominent Humanist Adam Werner. They denounced Brant as a man who wished to be wiser than the pope, and even aimed to become pope himself, whereas he deserved to be burned at the stake and cast into eternal perdition for his crimes. Brant, for the time being, did not reply to the assaults, and he had previously attacked his opponents in a similar manner. They called him an ass and a scoundrel, wished him to be palsied, and hoped to see his tongue torn out by thistles and nettles. He waited for his triumph and got it.

The Dominicans, inspired by the desire to substantiate their contradiction of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception, through some evidence or event, lured their ordained brethren in Berne to a deception which, under the name of the "Berner crime" (*Bernense scelus,* 1509), caused a tremendous sensation. A somewhat obtuse lay brother, Johann Jetzer, saw during the night or during mass, apparitions of saints, disguised monks and, of course, he now had sight of the gory host. Then he heard Mary weep, and received from her a confession that she had conceived in sin (*concepta in peccato*), and

CONRADO · PEVTINGERO · SEN · PATR · AVGVSTANO
VNDVM · CVPAVERVNT · SANCT · ANNO · M · D · XLIII ·

finally there were burned into his body the marks of the wounds of Christ, for the Dominicans demanded their man with the stigmata.

Such tortures were too much for Jetzer who, in days past as an honest tailor, had dreamed of a quiet convent life. He fled, and denounced his tormentors. Needless to say, the four monks who had carried out the deception were burned, and the Dominicans, who could not deny the shameless trick, suffered a decisive defeat. In order to make this universally known, the enemies of the Dominicans rallied and the affair was dealt with at length in letters and poems, in Latin and German writings. Later, when the adversaries of Reuchlin were mostly Dominicans, the Bernense scelus was one of the favorite subjects in the attacks of the Humanists upon the monks.

Nor was the affair ended by this public fiasco, so far as Brant was concerned. It is not certain that he played a part in the great controversy of 1509, although the parties interested strongly suspected him of being among the fighting champions. He wrote a dialogue in 1512 (which was not published), in which Vulkan told the holy Franziskus the preliminary and main story of the Berner affair and gained the sanction of the great founder of the order for the punishment of the miscreants. Perhaps this dialogue was supposed to be the reply to some calumnious verses which were issued against

Brant by his opponents, and remained in writing only, because the pope had ordained an agreement between the hostile factions, and caused Wirth to publish a revocation of the calumnies uttered against Brant and others.

The pious sentiment, which was prominent in these controversies, and in which other Humanists in a Brant sense took an active part, was shown by Joh. Trithemius, whose name appears in the great German book which has chiefly made Brant known to posterity: that was the "Narrenschiff" (The ship of fools). Two ideas permeated this work,—that of maintaining the purity of the Catholic Church, and of saving the empire from the invasion of the Turks. The author never grew tired of promulgating Christ as the head of the Church, whom everybody should emulate during his life; of teaching trust in God, which meant infinitely more than trust in men; and, on the other hand, of demanding reverence for the emperor. He summoned every member of the empire to support and promote the imperial plans. All those who did not contribute their part to the realization of such plans, he denounced in fiery words, meaning the princes who, instead of submitting under their ruler and assisting him in the accomplishment of his undertakings, only strove to gratify their own ambitions, and encourage such schemes of the emperor as promised to help promote their personal interests. He

struck at the priests, who were His antagonists, instead of being Christ's helpers, who at His second coming, would drive all sin out of the temple, *er fing gar dick beim Pfarrer an, und wird bis an den Messner gan.* (He—Christ—started pretty thick on the parson, and would have to finish with the sexton.)

Besides the clergy, the satirists of those days liked to find fault with the women and peasants. Brant, on the whole, approved this method, in which he assisted. He blamed those women who, through overfondness for dress and gauds, or through moral defaults, had forfeited the honor which adorns their sex. On the other hand, he praised all the worthy women with well chosen eulogistic words. Regarding the peasants, he missed the old simplicity and the morality, which was boasted of in past days, but did not despair of a return of the old respectable times. He preferred, however, to attack the exalted instead of the common people, the masters instead of the servants, and the nobles took the place of the peasants. He liked to show to the former the evanescence of all that is of this world; to denounce their pride in their coat-armors, their boast of pedigrees, and the antiquity of their generation was scorned as foolish, puerile and of no avail:

"Aber wer haett' kein Tugend nit,
Kein Zucht, Scham, Ehr' noch gute Sitt',
Den halt' ich alles Adels leer,
Wenn auch ein Fuerst sein Vater waer'."

Brant was not a great poet. Neither did he invent his material, but gathered it with some trouble from the old authors and the Bible, without molding it into artistic form. He left out of sight the happy idea of the "Narrenschiff," and listed long categories of fools. He had no great points of view, and lacked the knack of noticing smart little incidents of life. He was a stale moralist, who recited commonplaces in dull verses, even if the latter had some merit in rhythm and meter. Nor was he an eminent artist, though he designed the drawings for the woodcuttings and executed them. Many of his works were embellished with these carvings, particularly the "Narrenschiff"; but not one contained a genial stroke, or displayed even marked technical skill. In spite of all this, the work in its original version caused a profound sensation among the German people, and the Latin translation by Locher won unstinted applause among the whole learned fraternity. The reason for the universal approval lay not so much in its artistic value as in its plausibility, the felicitous combination of word and picture, the skillful mingling of ideas, which did not belong to fixed places or times, and therefore belonged to all times and all places. Finally, a powerful factor was that his themes were uppermost in the heads of the people at that period.

Wimpheling and Brant, like the majority of the

Alsatian Humanists, had never been out of Germany. Brant even scoffed at the bold seafarers, as well as at travelers as a whole, claiming that he could not serve God, *dem sein Sinn zu wandeln Stot* (whose mind was bent on roaming), whereas, so far as the people of Augsburg were concerned, everything pointed to a connection with Italy.

It was, therefore, not accidentally that this patrician town really gained its importance at the time of the Renaissance, though it had played a noteworthy rôle in the Middle Ages. Since Sigismund Gossembrot found his inspiration for the classical studies in Italy, and had spread the tidings with courage and zeal at home, the investigation of the literature of the ancients created a stir in Augsburg. The then flourishing monastery of the Benedictines at St. Afra, in which a printing shop was established in 1472, knew how to win over the clergy. Konrad Peutinger became teacher and mentor for the laity, and his house the center of the doings of the learned.

Konrad Peutinger (1465-1547) gained his education in Italy, whence he returned in 1485 as a savant of ancient times and as a Doctor Jur. This fact alone was characteristic of him and his nature. While the other Humanists despised the so-called "bread studies" in Italy, and deemed it a limitation of liberal scientific sentiment to carry a title and fill an office, Peutinger was an official by nature and because it was his vocation, not on account of

penury and want. He was a scientist by inclination, otherwise a man who betrayed in his not exactly Ciceronian letters a certain dryness and business-like attitude. This very shortage of fine phrases gave him inventiveness. He was a learned man who showed noble sentiment in his affairs, clarified by the literature of ancient times, while in his writings, especially in his favorite works, he displayed the keen sight of the practical man.

In the first place, Peutinger was a politician. We know very little about his activity in that respect, for the plentiful Augsburg archives have hitherto given meager information concerning him. After 1490 he appeared in the service of his native town and later became an official of King Maximilian. As the latter kept up a close connection with Augsburg, and visited there every year during the last three decades (1491-1518), sometimes for several weeks, it was necessary for him to have a personal secretary who was devoted to him, skilled in writing and speaking, and trained in business, in order to guard the king's interest in his relations with the town and attend to his numerous and intricate affairs abroad. Peutinger was admirably suitable for all this and appeared in Hungary, Italy, England and the Netherlands as imperial ambassador, secretary and speaker. Besides securing political order, he had also the Humanistic task of listening to well-composed reception speeches and making suitable

reply thereto. By virtue of his Latin knowledge, he promoted intercourse with foreign nations.

We do not know much about Peutinger's manner and the success of his political and diplomatic activity, but the patriotic thought was always uppermost with him, and in the negotiations with foreign nations we see how he always strove to emphasize the honor of the German name. In his twofold position as imperial counsel and town official, he knew how to smooth out differences between the emperor and town, and to secure the granting of liberties and privileges for his native city. Still further, he procured many benefits for his relatives, the heads of the rich business house of Welser, through receiving old handwritings as "booty" from the warlike expeditions of the emperor. Peutinger did this unselfishly, only showing a certain regard for himself and his own advantage so far as the scientific side of the matter was concerned. Whenever he saw the rights of his relatives impaired, he promptly complained and was not afraid to speak plainly to the emperor of his debts and the fulfillment of his obligations. He knew, too, how to win the sovereign's favor by refined compliments, such, for instance, as when he inserted in the letter of introduction for the Welser firm the words: *diese ersten Deutschen, welche Indiam suchen, in seinem Namen Schicken,* (that

the King sends these first Germans, who are in search of India, in His name.) Not only in political, but in intellectual and artistic affairs, Peutinger was the adviser of the emperor. He was also a censor, who was obliged to suppress unsafe utterances of the Swiss against the House of Hapsburg, and to prevent unwise praise on the part of the emperor. Again, he had to compile names from the ancients which Maximilian intended to use in baptizing his cannon, or he must needs gratify the artistic tastes of his imperial master by seeking out the artists and setting them to work on the tombstone at Innsbruck, or on the illustrations of the imperial books.

Maximilian's artistic leaning was preëminently of an historical nature, and Peutinger shared the same bias. The latter published, for the first time, several histories of the Middle Ages, but turned his chief attention to coins, relics and documents, both of the Roman period in Germany, of which he published a collection concerning Augsburg (1505), and a general one in his handwriting. This collection, and perhaps also the work upon all these treasures, was destined to become the life task of Peutinger,—the great "Kaiserbuch" (*Liber augustalis* or *De Cæsaribus*), the material for which he sought through much travel and extensive correspondence. He never finished this gigantic undertaking which, so far as one can judge from the scant

knowledge, was to be a great and representative History of Germany during the Middle Ages.

To Peutinger's precious possessions also belonged the Roman *Reichskarte,* found by Celtes in Speyer and given to his Augsburger friend. This document dated from the fourth century, and after Peutinger's death was frequently published under his name (*Tabula Peutingeriana*). The volume, however, which was most essentially his was the "Table Conversations" (*Sermones convivales*). This historical work may well represent the substance of the dialogues with his friends, and at the same time it gives an insight into the occupations and sentiments of the circle of Peutinger.

The subjects of these conversations may have been of a remoter significance, such as the marriage of the apostle Paul, or questions of the time which were being warmly discussed, like the travels of the Portuguese to India, but in the main it was the great patriotic-historical controversy which had already been treated by Wimpheling and his Strasburg friends: Had the towns on the right bank of the Rhine from Koeln down to Strasburg been, since Cæsar's times, under the jurisdiction of the French or of the German-Roman kings?

One must not expect to find in these conversations an evenly conducted disputation on both sides; on the contrary, the victory was decided before the fight began. The defender of Germanism not only

gained the decision on the strength of his arguments, but he was in the right by virtue of his championship for the German cause alone. As supporting his views, he preferably used passages from Roman authors, but drew also upon modern Italians and Germans, the latter in a form as if they,—and especially the colleagues of Peutinger,—were in reality witnesses in a contention which was supposed to interest them deeply. Berosus was quoted, although many were beginning to doubt his genuineness. Occasionally other assertions which hurt the feelings of the patriot were mentioned and relegated to the limbo of oblivion as worthless, such as the claim that the art of printing was known long before in Italy, and had been newly invented by the Germans.

It was hard to judge from the few historical works of Peutinger what he was really able to accomplish. Perhaps he was more of a collector than a critic and writer, but the voluminous collection which he had planned would have been a stupendous contribution to the historiography of the sixteenth century. The third of his aspirations, the religious one, was supported by and promoted through his close relation to the emperor. The Augsburg town clerk belonged to those men whose opinions were wanted by the ruler, as to whether it would be advisable to publish writings in which the mysteries of religion were dealt with in a

popular style, so as to be intelligible to the common people (1517). His expert opinion, so far as known, is not on record, but his answer must have been in the affirmative, for he inclined at that time to the reformatory work. He agitated against the overpowerful clergy who held the people in ignorance; he hinted at a slight disapproval of celibacy, by trying to prove that the apostle Paul had been married, and he received Luther at his home like a brother in sentiment (1518). But he did not become a Protestant, and in 1521 he advised Luther to revoke his teachings. If he, as in 1524, translated a writing of Oekolampads about the distribution of alms, he need not necessarily have shared the other theological views of the Reformer, and if he seems to have taken upon himself the rôle of a mediator between Luther and Pirckheimer, in an unprinted writing about the Holy Communion, he cannot be described as an adherent of the Reformer, since his opinion was approved by his friends, the prior Konrads, and he particularly emphasized that "he did not assert anything disrespectful or unfaithful against the Catholic Church." Thus he remained a Catholic, desiring a peaceful reform, and preserving his liberal judgment on many questions, but totally disinclined to countenance a thorough reorganization of religious conditions.

It was a numerous circle of Humanists who gathered around Peutinger in Augsburg. Among

them were clever men, of whom more than one ought to be mentioned, although they, like all their colleagues, remained far behind the eminent Peutinger. Ottomar Luscinius (Nachtigall, 1487-1537), knew how to represent forcefully the specific Alsatian views which he had learned from his master and countryman Wimpheling. He was a good Latin and Greek scholar, a man of great versatility, a raconteur, musician, theologian and jurist, and an ecclesiastic without any real party, so he blamed the priests, condemned scholastics, advocated reading of the Bible, and yet contended with Luther. He was a man of great gifts, but without stability and because of this deficiency did not possess any noticeable influence at that time.

Another was Bernhard Adelmann von Adelmannsfelden, (1457-1523), an ardent adherent of Humanism and the Reformation, who received praise from the exalted on account of his Humanistic sentiments, but was violently attacked by the adherents of the pope on account of his religious ideas regarding reform. He was a man who with all his erudition was not inclined to make literary use of it, nor could he be induced to appear in public although he had an earnest, decisive manner. He did not find satisfaction in business matters, though he showed skill and zeal in this respect, but enjoyed quiet devotion to his favorite studies, or cheerful intercourse with his colleagues.

A graceful evidence of this literary life was a little collection of poems dedicated to the imperial counsel or, Blasius Hoelzelius. The latter, an influential official, lived much of his time in Augsburg, where he formed a close friendship with Peutinger, —who subsequently contributed at least one letter to the Hoelceliana,—and a fondness for the latter's daughter Juliane. The miss had drawn delighted attention through being able as a child to recite a Latin poem to the emperor. In the eyes of the poets, Hoelzelius was a "vorzuelicher Macen" (an excellent patron), and they hastened to curry his favor, to praise his diplomatic skill and his zeal for science, but they did not forget to boast of his presents, and to shout the praise of a man who was the only one that knew how to give (*convivales epulas et pocula lœta*).

This collection was printed in 1518, during the Augsburg Reichstag, when there was not only a unification of the temporal and spiritual dignitaries, but a congress of the Humanists. The latter, however, had not hastened to Augsburg to get quick news of the conversation of Luther with Cardinal Cajetan,—for they regarded the affair as an idle monks' quarrel,—but to induce the emperor and the empire behind him to enter into a great war against the Turks. This was the secret hope of all the Humanistic dreamers. At their head was Hutten. "The most pleasing spectacle," so he wrote

to a friend, "presents itself here to every eye. So many princes distinguished by youth and dignified appearance, such a multitude of barons and knights, the crême of the German nobility: he who looks upon them cannot think the Turks are so very formidable. If the Germans today have as much brain as they have bodily strength, I would like to threaten the whole world with conquest and subjugation. May God give that those may well be counseled of whose counsel so much depends. For what else could we wish, but that Germany just at this time should know herself?" In his public address, he approved absolutely of the papal proposals of a universal taxation, whereas he had previously shown strong antipathy toward similar ideas from Rome. He admonished the princes to be unanimous and submissive to the emperor, and expressed confidence in the sure success of his endeavors.

Similar thoughts to these were expressed by many other Humanists. For it was only a small minority, whose speaker (presumably Friedrich Fischer, Hutton's friend), appeared on the scene, who believed the old fear that the demanded tithe was meant for the enrichment of the pope at the expense of repeatedly fooled Germany. The majority of them, however, considered the Turkish danger such a momentous matter for the whole of Europe that they did not doubt the good intention of the

pope to avert the general peril. The speech which Tranquillus Partenius Andronikus, Erasmus Vitellius and Richard Bartholinus held or pretended to have held with God, the German people, and the German princes, moving in the same train of thought, were pronounced mere declamations filled with fancies and betraying the study of the respective Roman authors concerning invasions and cruelties of the barbarians, more than a knowledge of Turkey and the real condition of East Europe.

We cannot speak of Augsburg without recalling the great man of that town—Hans Holbein. He was not a Humanist in the sense of a promoter of the languages and the literature of the ancients, but he was on a higher plane, inasmuch as he possessed trained intelligence and a deep interest in the new education. The evidences were his painting of Erasmus, with which his name is for all time indissolubly connected, his portrait of Bonifacius Amerbach, his illustrations of Humanistic writings, of Erasmus' *Praise of foolishness* or of the Lucian Dialogues translated by the latter, of the *Utopia* of Thomas Morus and Murner's writings. His title-page borders, used by Humanistic printers for various books, and his insignia and initials, which he made mostly for Joh. Froben in Basel, were artistic in the highest degree. All these works, including the last mentioned, which could easily be taken for the products of the artisan, showed the interest in

such writings and their subjects; they betrayed the intellectual satire which attacks the professor as well as the priest and even religion itself, with hearty recognition, but always the independent conception and judgment of the subjects of the ancient time.

Next to Augsburg comes the sister town of Nürnberg. The old Augusta Vindelicorum was followed by the venerable Augusta Prætoria, as Celtes was wont to call his much beloved Nürnberg, basing the expression upon Peutinger's tables, either with intentional falsification of historical truth or through ignorance. Nürnberg received at an early period, like Augsburg, the foundation of the new Humanistic learning. Only a little later than Gossembrot's labors there, Hartmann Schedel was seen in Nürnberg (1440-1514), seeking to revive the old study.

Schedel had been a pupil of Luder in Leipzig, and after he was graduated from the difficult course, as Baccalaureus and Magister, he was induced to take up the study of jurisprudence, but was filled with disgust against "the many changes of what is right, and the overwhelmingness of the law vocabulary." Then he turned to "sacred medicine," studied in Italy and returned to his native city a well appointed physician, in 1480. As a result of his Italian studies, he brought back with him not only the medical title, but a deep interest in ancient times. His collection included multitudes of excerpts and

copies from old and new authors, for he had a real passion for copying. A work about the curiosities of Italy was written by him, the inscriptions, perhaps and some plaster casts of antiquities were also his work. He had the talent to describe the world he had seen or imagined, though the talent was a rather limited one. A great work from his pen, *The New Chronicle of the World* which, without marking any great progress in historiography, was ably compiled, appeared in 1493, in Latin and German, and was adorned with 2,000 woodcuts.

This work was used by later generations for reference, and by some as a source of information. It became very famous in Germany and abroad, and had a vast circulation. The fact that such a work was written, as the first one of its kind which appeared in so rich a make-up, was evidence of esteem for science and learning. There were other proofs of this truth. Nürnberg, during the whole of the century, was a town of worldly education. There lived Johann Koenigsberg (Regiomontan), the most celebrated astronomer of Germany, perhaps of Europe, through whose influence Nürnberg became the center of mathematico-astronomical studies. He was an explorer who, known in many countries and in demand by several of them, voluntarily returned to Nürnberg, since he could not find, according to his own words, a more suitable place for his studies. There also lived Siegmund

Meisterlin, the Humanistically educated writer of Chronicles.

Meisterlin, an Augsburg monk, who was called from his monastery by several towns in South Germany to fill the office of preacher, was asked in 1418, by the highest two dignitaries of Nürnberg, to write a chronicle of that town, after he had written treatises on the curiosities and antiquities of Augsburg. He labored industriously and with skill on his task, and produced a history of the town, beginning with the Roman wars in Germany and coming down to the year 1418. He observed a close connection of the imperial history in the outer sense and the older Nürnberg chronicles in the inner sense. He was not a critic; on the contrary, he readily accepted all legends and stories, even giving them,—like the story of Schweppermann—that version in which later generations liked to repeat them.

Meisterlin had a Humanistic education, but did not understand Greek and liked to quote the Roman classics and Italian Humanists in the Latin version of his chronicle, which was older than the German one. His favorites were the historians Enea Silvio and Flavio Biondo, which had served him as reference. He was religious, and not only indulged in telling of church life and church institutions, but liked to describe the divine influence on the fate of man.

In spite of Meisterlin's piety, he could not escape the reproaches of his colleagues and of those who thought themselves more ecclesiastic than the clergy themselves. He felt stung particularly by one remark: *dass ein geistlich Mann geschehen Ding beschreibe* (that a clergyman described things that happened). This reproach is nothing else than the old anti-Humanistic one, that the theologian should only occupy himself with things theological, and turn away from unholy ones, even if he had approached them with sacred intentions.

The real representative of Humanism was Willibald Pirckheimer, one of the most eminent of all German Humanists. He was born in 1470 and died in 1528. His father Johann, who himself had been a promoter of the new studies, gave him an excellent training in science and art. He was initiated in martial matters when very young, and had to accompany his father on his business travels, thus learning all about the world's trading. His parent preferred that he should adopt this vocation and therefore did not look with favor upon his son's predilection for the studies of Humaniora while in Padua (1490-97), where he wished him to adopt jurisprudence. Returned from Italy, Pirckheimer became counselor of his town and remained in that office, although with some interruptions, until 1522. He undertook journeys as ambassador on behalf of the town, commanded the city militia in war times,

for instance, in the Swiss war of Maximilian, and gained in this and many other positions the confidence of the emperor. He was rich and used his wealth for the embellishment of his home and to make others happy. If Sickingen's castle was renowned as the home of justice, then Pirckheimer's domicile could be described as the gathering place of the good and the aspiring.

Pirckheimer resembled, in many respects, his neighbor and colleague Peutinger. He was in intimate connection with Emperor Maximilian, like the other; he was a diplomat, historian and theologian and, like Peutinger, made history the servant of patriotism. He, too, remained in the fold of the old Church, after some short-lived reformatory attempts, and gathered around himself, even in a greater degree, the adherents of the new school. Pirckheimer made his home the center of a healthy, fruitful life, through his wealth and his independent spirit. But in many respects the two differed from each other. Peutinger was one-sided, dearly attached throughout his life to some of his pet inclinations and, therefore, he terminated his career without having achieved any satisfactory conclusion for his literary activity, while Pirckheimer was versatile, but knew how to place limitations upon himself notwithstanding his versatility, and he left to posterity many completed volumes instead of an unfinished folio. The Augsburger put the subject above

the form. As a consequence, he did not show elegance in his writings, nor did he, with his many priceless mental possessions, possess the real artistic temperament. On the other hand, the Nürnberger was half-artist himself and, inspired by the intercourse with real artists, he strove to make his writings ornamental creations, furnishing the reader through their gracefulness as much enjoyment and pleasure as were given by the products of the older and more distinguished artists whom Pirckheimer loved to foster. Peutinger knew the meaning of friendship, but did not, like the other, need the sentiment as an element which made life worth living.

He made many acquaintances in order to obtain a coin or document; Pirckheimer lived with his friends in a higher, purer and more intellectual atmosphere, of which a modern historian has said that it was created to explore man,—man in his outer nature as well as in his mental aspect. Peutinger preferred to live in his well-appointed town house, and buried himself during the scant leisure hours which his official duties left him in irksome and unimportant investigations. Pirckheimer longed to get away from the comforts of the city to the country, where he loved to stay, though he missed the society of friends and the mental stimulus of their presence. He enjoyed the beauties of nature, and knew how to describe like a true poet the happi-

ness of such a life, even if he did not himself write verse.

Peutinger was serious and austere, already aged in his youth, while the other was gay and humorous, fond of convivial banter and, in a lesser degree, of malicious scorn. He remained in his old age, despite his ailments, as fresh as a youngster. Peutinger's portrait, painted by Christoph Amberger, the clever rival of Holbein, represents a well-nourished, good hearted and sensible old gentleman, who looks like a gentle father-confessor, in whom one would not hesitate to confide. Pirckheimer appears in his picture, drawn with a few strokes by Dürer, according to the words of the youngest Dürer biographer, as the "gay worldly-wise of Nürnberg as he used to regale in his prime the learned fraternity with food and drink and his genial jokes, one of which might almost be seen in the picture itself, written by his own hand in as well put German as obscene Greek."

The old publisher of Pirckheimer's writings, the learned but limited Altorf professor, Rittershaus, divided the works of his friend into four categories, —historica, politica, philologica, and epistolica, and he was sure that this classification helped to a true understanding of Pirckheimer's nature. However, one will hardly be able to form a fair judgment of his personality through these efforts. For the politician could be appreciated only after a thorough use of archival sources, and not from the occasional

verses that are known today, and which were addressed to Emperor Maximilian and the town of Nürnberg, nor from single speeches and letters of a political nature. The historian is partly a patriot, who adds new contributions to the material compiled by others from the ancient authors. Pirckheimer was the author of a very readable and attractive book about the Swiss war, which was most truthful and plausible in the passages in which the writer reported what he actually saw, and did not depend upon hearsay. As a philologist, he wrote good Latin, understood Greek better than most of his contemporaries, and used this knowledge for the translation of Greek writings, which he chose preferably from Lucian's works. As a letter writer he was perfect; he knew everybody and had the right word for all; he could converse, and conduct serious explanations; he understood how to enjoy an earnest or a jocular chat, to make communications concerning himself, and to draw confessions from others.

It was not without reason that Pirckheimer chose the Lucian Dialogues for translation, for there was a Lucian vein in him; proof for this is found in his *dialogue Eccius dedolatus,* (the rounded-off corner). It is one of the most acrid and blunt controversial writings of that blunt attack-loving time, leveled against Joh. Eck, the Ingolstadt theologian who had excited the public mind by his defense

of usury, made himself hated by the attitude which he adopted toward the Lutherans after the Leipzig disputation and because of his contempt of the Humanists and their love of education. Eck speaks in barbaric German-Latin and expresses his preference for the sophists, the deadly enemies of the Humanists.

Eck was a sick man and forsaken by all; his only friend was the wine can, which the boy in attendance had to fill continuously.

Even during the youth's brief absences his master had to provide somebody to take his place. The boy was sent out to bring friends, but few came, and they were not willing callers. They advised Eck to send for a doctor, but the patient trusted hardly anyone, least of all the Nürnbergers and Augsburgers, who he believed, could be instigated by the Humanists to poison him. The question arose how to get a quick and reliable messenger to Leipzig. A witch appeared who, riding on her goat to her destination, was to take an epistle from Eck to the theologian Ruteus, and through his good offices secure a physician from the Leipzig theologians, Eck's special patrons and wellwishers.

The doctor was found and approved of, and he and Ruteus, who wished to be at his friend's bedside for spiritual solace, were ready for the journey. The witch offered herself as a rapid transport, and the two travelers, with a shudder agreed to use the

strange vehicle, the tail of which they had to clutch during the wonderful trip. They received the encouraging assurance that the animal was an uncle of the Emserian goat.

Now the journey began, after the messenger had pronounced the conjuring formula: *Suregnut, Tartshcoh, Nekrokrc, Ffcpf* (the reversed names of the chief opponents of the Humanists: namely, Tungerus, that is Arnold von Tungern, Hochstraten, Pfefferkorn), and in due course of time the travelers arrived at Ingolstadt and went to the patient. The physician introduced himself with a description of his activity, which was hardly conducive to the reassurance of sick people; he recognized the cause of Eck's illness in his dissolute living, and since there was immediate danger, he demanded that the patient should speak to a father confessor before the operation was performed. The confessor arrived, but had to listen to a boasting story of the deeds of the patient, instead of to a confession of sins. However, the confession was lured from him that his undertakings were not the sequence of his love of truth, but were prompted by wicked motives and the desire for fame and money. The half-repentant man, who saw in the confessor a semi-disguised Lutheran, and who was afraid of the publication of his secrets through the latter, declared: "I am neither Lutheran nor Eckian, but a Christian; I will never divulge what is worth being kept secret; for

truth, which can only be temporarily suppressed, but never killed, will finally reveal itself." The soul doctor now yielded his place to the temporal doctor, who forthwith began his energetic efforts at effecting a cure. He had the patient beaten by seven men, each of whom was armed with a big stick, until all corners and angles were knocked off; they trimmed his hair and freed the head from the scholastic encumbrances of syllogism, sophistry, propositions and corollaries; and they gave him a drink which acted both as an emetic and a soporific. The patient thereby partly escaped from the dialectic commentaries, the canonical doctor-title, etc., and during his sleep, the physician forcibly removed his vices,—pride, envy, hypocrisy and debauchery. The awakening man felt relieved and much pleased. On learning the result of the operation, he said he had only one request to make: namely, that nothing should be told Hutten and the "vermaledeiten Wittenberger poeten" (the confounded Wittenberg poets), of the whole occurrence.

This satire, which is blunt, witty and often cynical in its personal antipathy and Humanistic sentiment, was followed by an intellectual self-irony, and a comment on the shortcomings and deficiencies of the times,—called "The praise of gout" (Laus podagræ), a book which the brave Rittershaus—for what reason no one knows—thought fit to add to his political writings. Afflicted by physical ailments the

aging man who, without being a sensualist, had not been averse to the enjoyments of life, saw himself compelled to sit still and abstain from all material pleasures. He resignedly made the resolution to praise his tormentor, against whom he could only vent his impotent rage, as the purveyor of intellectual and convivial amenities. He did this in a speech which he let his gout hold before a dummy collegiate of court judges, from whom it hoped to obtain a verdict of acquittal, and even more than that in the glorification for its work. While this book, by virtue of its essential nature, showed an attachment to the literature of Humanism, (in those days it was a favorite game of witticism to shout the praise of pernicious things), a third and last volume led us into the actual affairs of the times. It was a protective work for Reuchlin, and therefore a defense of Humanistic studies, which Pirckheimer made in an apologetic letter, and with which he prefaced the translation of a Lucian dialogue (1517).

It was a courageous book, true to its convictions, filled with noble zeal for work which meant his own life and which embellished it with manly wrath against those who, in the opinion of the author, wantonly retarded the intellectual development of the life of the nation. Highly characteristic in this defending speech was the new turn which he gave to the old quarrel between theology and Humanism.

For the theology which Pirckheimer knew, was not an adversary, but a promoter of Humanism. Therefore, a theologian, according to him was one who combined sterling knowledge with earnest and morally pure endeavor. In his intention to compile a list of worthy theologians, Pirckheimer gave, in reality, a catalogue of the Humanists. He maintained the same point of view regarding the Reformation. He was its adherent so long as he saw in it an intellectual and moral regeneration of the people, which expression did not mean the lower classes only. He became an opponent of the Reformation as soon as he recognized in it only a theological innovation, which in many places hurried the decay of science and caused, instead of an improvement, only an aggravation of moral conditions. "By the majority I am vilified as a traitor to the evangelic truth," he used to complain, "because I do not take much stock in the non-evangelistic but diabolical truth of so many apostates, men as well as women, not to speak of all the other innumerous vices, which have eradicated almost all the love and religiousness."

These and similar expressions, which are frequently found in his letters and writings, were not utterances of an unreasonable embitterment, but the painful protest of a just indignation. Pirckheimer was not a straggler, nor a renegade. He lacked a religious nature, and therefore may not have recog-

nized the essence of religious feeling as created by the Reformation, but he was too sagacious to overlook the evil consequences which showed themselves, especially in the beginning. He belonged to the free lances, who were not rare among the Humanists, and who perhaps dreamed of a league of the luminous ones, beside, not beyond the Church,—a league which, in its purest intellectual aspirations, would have had for its task to approach the ideals of morality as closely as possible. He belonged to those who thought they had found such a league in the new evangelic community, but withdrew into the fold of their old Church, to which they had always been accustomed, believing they had been deceived in their expectations,—a belief which sometimes caused harsh expressions of pain and disappointment. However, when he thus spoke, it was not because of the pleasure he took in scolding and quarreling, but because of his grief and discouragement.

Pirckheimer's strength was broken; his joyousness and his interest in his period had vanished. He, the cheerful one who had preserved his juvenile gayety even in advanced manhood, and in his fondness for bodily pleasures had given the cynical Dürer occasion for many a jest, now cared only for intellectual joys, and the preparation for death, (*vivere ingenio, cætera mortis erunt*).

He who had lived so long among his friends saw himself lonesome and bereft of the company of the

best. His sentiments were best expressed in the *Trauerode* (Mourning ode), which he addressed to his friend Dürer, who died shortly before him, on April 6, 1528: "You, who have been tied in true friendship to me for so long; you, the best part of my soul, with whom I have always held brotherly converse; you who have kept my words in his faithful breast. Why, you ungrateful one, do you suddenly leave the mourning friend, and hurry away with rapid, never retraceable steps? It was not to be that I could touch the dear face, and to press the hand to say farewell to the departing, for no sooner did you lay your tired limbs upon the couch, than death called you away."

To Pirckheimer's writings belongs a defense for the *Clarisinnen*, the nuns of St. Clara in Nürnberg. He was prompted to compose it by the fact that his sisters, Charitas and Clara, lived in this convent, and had to withstand the wild attacks of violent and unjust persons, in the first period of the Reformation, which was hostile to the cloisters. The elder of these two women, Charitas (born 1466, entered convent 1478, prioress 1503, died 1532), deserves mention, not only on account of her illustrious brother, but because of her own cleverness. Peutinger's little daughter was admired because she recited a poem in her early youth, but how much more should Pirckheimer's sister have deserved praise, when she not only read Latin prose and verse, but

knew how to use the language in daily intercourse with her friends. She wrote Latin letters to her brother and to Celtes, ample proof of her mastery of the idiom, even if she spoke modestly of the unevenness of her style.

Charitas received from her brother the translation of the writing of Plutarch, which was dedicated to her, "About the hesitating revenge of the Divinity," and the works of the holy Fulgentius. From Celtes came the poetical works of the nun Hrotsuitha, and the panegyric on Nürnberg. Brother and friend vied with one another in the letters of dedication attached to these gifts; the former praised her as a worthy member of a famous family, the latter called her "the shining star and crown of all women; rare ornament are you in the German lands; and like the Roman daughters, O gentle virgin." Charitas, even though she felt a glow of pride in the praise of the men, declined their homage. She expressed gratitude to her brother for his partial praise, and to the friend who, with subtle and refined flattery, had described a little letter which he had received some time before and found to be an alleviating balsam for bodily pains and the loss of his belongings.

Charitas remained a Christian and preferred the reading of the Bible and the writings of the saints to the perusal of profane products. She was concerned for the spiritual welfare of the friend and

strove to turn him away from "the glorification of the unseemly legends of Jupiter, Venus, Diana and the other heathen creatures," and to the only really beatifying truth, which was hidden in the Holy Book.

"There we find the costliest pearls, for in that ploughfield of the Lord the divine learning draws the kernel from the shell, the spirit from the letter, the oil from the rock, and from the thistles the flower." Charitas was not only the nun who, with all her literary training, had pious feelings and knew how to express them, and the prioress who treated her sisters and inferiors like a faithful, loving and worthy mother, but she was the *woman,* who loved to keep the honor of the sex, and spoke of the equality of the female in the domain of the spiritual.

This explains why she was pleased with the works of Hrotsuitha, not as a remarkable literary monument and a testimonial of devout sentiment, but as the creation of a woman, and she congratulated the publisher because of the attention which he had bestowed upon the poems of "a poor little nun." She continued, "You have done this against the habit of many educated, or I should say, haughty ones, who unfortunately endeavor to esteem very little all words, deeds and comments of women, just as if the other sex did not have the same Creator, Redeemer and Lord of eternal happiness, and with-

out noticing that the hand of the Supreme Maker has by no means yet been shortened. He possesses the key to art and doles out to everybody, after his pleasure, without respecting the person."

As with Celtes there were ignoble detractors who dared to disparage this pure relation—this highly gifted woman was on friendly terms with many clever Humanists, as was shown in several letters still preserved, some serious and some humorous. Among the Nürnbergers, Christoph Scheurl and Albert Dürer were her intimates. "The boasting, impertinent and foolish pain of both faculties" (*utriusque juris dolorem* instead of *doctorem*). With these words Pirckheimer scoffed at his fellow countryman, Christoph Scheurl, with whom he could never live in real companionship though they had similar aspirations. Scheurl, (1481-1542), a jurist educated in Italy and there highly honored, was one of the most distinguished officials during the last decades of his life, and had a most remarkable appearance. For all the rest of the famous men of that time had to be placed in three categories, —the Humanists, who with all their zeal for politics and religion devoted themselves exclusively to the intellectual fight, and fostered the language and literature of ancient times; the reformers, who were the precursors in the war for religious improvement and purification of the Church, the venerators of the Bible, and praisers of the German language; and the

adherents of the ancient, who regarded Humanists and reformers as interlopers in spiritual life and Church, who deemed scant knowledge and unenlightened thinking more profitable than learning and clarified sentiment.

Scheurl, however, did not belong to any one of these three classes. Haughty, and dazzled by the praise bestowed upon him, he deemed his little affairs more important than the things of the world; lazy in mind, in the face of all mental activity, incapable of warmth and enthusiasm, he remained cool in the Humanistic controversies which so powerfully inspired his colleagues; he preserved no personal connection with the leaders and took no interest in the matter. Even sensational, controversial writings were unknown to him and, in consequence of an objectivity unwarranted in those stirring times, he spoke of Reuchlin's triumph and wished to be remembered as one of the latter's chief opponents. He would have liked to command a halt in the reform movement by establishing a peaceful understanding between Luther and Eck. But as he was not able to direct the mental nor the religious movement into the channels desired by him, he retired in an offended spirit, and was embittered against both leaders.

Through such an attitude Scheurl showed the bad side of the rich townspeople, while Pirckheimer revealed the good one. With the latter, there was

vivid interest in the newest and best, the grand conception, the many-sided contemporary life, the rapid action; with the former, the pretense of dignity without inner worth, and the supercilious ignoring of all that was sacred and sublime to others.

What Holbein, the Humanistically tinged representative of the Renaissance, was for Augsburg, Dürer was for Nürnberg. He was so in an even higher degree for, while Holbein spent the greater part of his life abroad, in Switzerland and England, Dürer stayed always in Nürnberg, except for some business and study travels. He was more attached to Humanism than Holbein. He was not really a learned man, although he had a great appreciation for the researches of others. He sometimes inquired after Greek books for a friend, and in his scientific works referred to the doings of others. He explained the thirst after knowledge as the one insatiable desire in man, and used the characteristic sentence: "All desiring and working powers of the mind can get tired of everything, however useful and desirable it may appear to be. He may be satisfied with daily exercise and exaggerated use, but the desire to know much which is planted by nature in every one of us, is immune against such a satiety, and not subject to any vexation."

This sentiment alone, which was foreign to Holbein, made him a Humanist, and more so the fact that he had a closer connection with eminent authors

than Holbein. Furthermore, he felt in closer touch with Italy, so that when leaving this country, he used the resigned words: *Oh, wie wird mich nach der Sonne frieren. Hier bin ich ein Herr daheim ein Schmarotzer.* ("Oh, how, when I feel the cold again, will I be longing for the sun. Here I am a master, at home I am a parasite.") He had a more distinct religious sentiment; he revered Luther, broke out in pathetic lamentations when he heard the report of the latter's imprisonment, and implored Erasmus that now *er als Ritter Christi hervorreite neben dem Herrn Jesus, die Wahrheit beschuetze und der Martyrer Krone erlange* (he, as a knight of Christ should ride ahead by the side of the Lord Jesus, protect truth and get the crown of the martyr").

Dürer was not alone an artist but an author. Of his chief theoretical works and his various scientific investigations, we shall not speak here. The latest learned biographer of Dürer foregoes a detailed description of them with the remark that "it would be beyond the power and the knowledge of the individual to follow such a many-sided intellectual activity in all its traces." We shall only remind the reader that Dürer wrote diaries, letters and rhymes, in poor German, which are ample evidence of his mental conception and lovable mental life. His diaries are not lofty collections of intellectual contemplations, but simple reports about the occurrences

of the day, the curiosities which he had observed on his travels, and notes about the important happenings of the time. It is their very simplicity which makes them attractive. His letters are records of fine sentiments, evidence of a lively humor, which could not be stifled even by adversities; proofs of unselfish friendship, prepared for any sacrifice, and ready submission under superiors. They were utterances of an always living religiousness, which did not awaken until after some heavy blow of fate. His verses reproduce sensible and often religious thoughts on the part of the author, or they treat the poet himself, or some one of his intimate colleagues, in a ludicrous way. Once he told in a very amusing way of his attempts at rhyming, and on another occasion answered the satirical poem which Lazarus Spengler had written about him.

What, however attracts us the most in Dürer's literary products is the good and pure man who speaks through them, the dignified modesty which never leaves the highly lauded artist. This latter quality, so far as he was personally concerned, may be called a fruit of the Renaissance education, since it was brought into being by the consciousness, often expressed by Dürer, that modern art, as well as intellectual education was based upon the ancients; that their art books and art works had laid the foundation for a great development, and the disrespect in which they had been held brought

for its consequence the lack of culture of the Middle Ages, while their revival *in Welschland* heralded the dawn of a new epoch.

Strasburg, Nürnberg and Augsburg are three towns in which not only eminent artists and scientists were the founders of a new intellectual life, through their works and the personal stimulus emanating from them, but they were the chief centers of printing and the book trade, from whose untiringly busy printing presses were sent forth handbooks and big folios as promulgators of the newly awakened knowledge. Furthermore, they were the seats of a sensible citizenship which, guided by the correct recognition that only in the education of the coming generation lay the guarantee of a prosperous future, applied its wealthy means to secure the best teachers, and to found excellent institutions of learning for the youth.

CHAPTER IV

THE SCHOOLS

LUTHER'S powerful admonition to the heads of the German towns (1524) that they should erect and maintain schools, was for many a creative utterance which laid numerous new foundations, and also affected institutions already in existence. There were common and high schools in every place; the exhortation of a theologian in 1470, "One should send the children early to school with honorable masters," was evidence of the serious mood of the intellectual leaders, and many documents prove that the schools were industriously used, and the teacher's vocation was held in high esteem.

While until the middle of the fifteenth century the instruction was an absolutely elementary one and great emphasis was laid upon religious tuition, there arose later the purely learned faculty to make its entrance under the impetus of Humanism. We cannot name all these schools, of which some soon attained great prosperity. It may suffice to point to those of Schlettstadt, Deventer and Muenster,

which bore the characteristic peculiarities of the Humanistic schools, and which could boast of the most eminent teachers and the most gifted pupils.

The school of Schlettstadt, with its master Ludwig Dringenberg, deserves the first place. One liked to compare it to the Trojan Horse: as the Greek heroes emerged from its cavity fully armed, so the Humanists were graduated from this school fully equipped for the literary struggle. Despite this clever comparison, Dringenberg was no reformer, not even a stanch fighter, for his teachings, though they were directed to inculcate the rules of the Latin language, were seriously impaired by those rambling comments which hide the essential, and which were far remote from classic Latinity.

For instance, he was satisfied with the translation given by one of his most gifted pupils, of one of his favorite sayings: *Alt Aff' jung pfaff, darzu wild baeren, sol nieman in sin hus begeren* (Old ape, young parson, added to them wild bears, should not be welcome in one's home) thus:

Inveterata pati non simia debet in ædes,
Ursus silvestris, presbiter et juvenis,

which does not justify any special claim to good Latin; and as he himself could perpetrate the following lines about the death of the Duke Karl

der Kuehne von Burgund, embodied by Jak. Wimpheling in his German history:

Oppida trina tibi, dux Carole, dura fuere,
In rebus Gransen, grege Murthen, corpore Nanse,

he showed that he had not read the Latin poets with striking success.

Far more serious was the fact that he, in spite of these mediocre Humanistic studies, felt quite serene in his conscience, intended to break off all connection with the old heathens, and to devote himself to pious contemplations and exercises. He communicated this resolve to the patrician Sigismund Gossembrot in Augsburg. It was exactly the right thing to do. For Gossembrot, who had been a savior of Humanism in opposition to Saeldner, was highly pleased to be able to renew his activities with Dringenberg in the task of saving and converting. The latter may have listened to the arguments of his friend; he received the letter in 1466, but labored until his death in 1490. He may have abandoned his narrow-mindedness, and with his apparent lapse he had done neither more nor less than many another who with approaching age swears off from the looseness of his youth, or as did many a Humanist of the older generation, who could not well reconcile the heathen authors with his Christian sentimentality, which had grown stronger with his increasing years.

One of the most eminent pupils of Dringenberg was Peter Schott (born July 9, 1458, died Sept. 12, 1490), a man who deserves the more attention because he was one of the first wealthy townsmen who strove to acquire the new education, and at the same time was a pioneer in undertaking the journey to Italy for study. Although he received surprising impressions there, he maintained independence enough to recognize the superficial, which manifested itself frequently in the Italian Renaissance, and to emphasize the peculiarity of the German education, which was, in truth, inferior to the Italian, but was by no means barbaric. It must be said that he had not merely passed through Italy, but had made himself thoroughly familiar with it, for he spent four years in Bologna studying jurisprudence, which he called later "a foolish art," and had subsequently visited Rome and other places.

When Schott returned to his native Strasburg, he was the only one there who understood Greek. He became a theologian, but remained Humanist. For if he worked as a theologian, combating immorality, agitating against the prebendal accumulation, and trying to induce the friend he met in Italy, Bohuslaus von Hassenstein, to suppress the Hussites or unite them with the Catholics, he was just as zealously keen to increase his Latin knowledge, and to banish ignorance. He may have overshot the mark in his honest endeavor, when he used

the songs which the children sang at holiday processions, in order to teach perseverance in their studies. "For Virgil's muse," so he composed, "could be bought for a shilling, and Cicero's toga for a herring"; but he grasped the evil at its root, by his energetic protest (1485) against a decree issued by Pope Sixtus IV, according to which citizens, that is, non-aristocratic professors, were to be excluded from the chapters of the cathedral churches. He was guided in this protest by the recognition that the representatives of the new school had to have a secure and honorable standing in the outer world. He realized that they could work with more success if they fought unanimously instead of individually.

From such motives we must explain Schott's keen endeavor to secure connection with every author whose name he knew. He was not conceited, but on the contrary was modest and simple, studious and thirsting for wisdom, so much so that he did not hesitate to ask in his letters for explanations of grammatical expressions and the translation of peculiar words. But besides science he loved his native town and his Fatherland, and when he wrote poetry, in which he liked to mix Roman mythology which he learned from the Italians, but avoided the frivolity characteristic of that country, he loved to use it in his praise of Strasburg, the town with the silvery sheen (*argentoratum*), which through wise

government preserved its liberty, and to laud Maximilian, the youthful king who through his wars strove to revive the glory of the early Germans.

Schott's smaller writings (*lucubrationes,* 1498), were not the productions of a genius, but they were an eloquent testimonial from an excellent man, and a later generation erected a monument in honor of their predecessor as well as to themselves, by the publication of his writings.

The successors of Dringenberg at first adopted his ways. They were reformers, but not revolutionaries, and preferred to feel their way instead of storming forward, only to be compelled later to relinquish the easily conquered position. In 1490, Crato Hoffmann von Udenheim came upon the stage. He was a clever teacher of stern morality, religious and serious, or pleasant, as occasion demanded. His pupils aptly characterized him: *festive severus et severe festivus.* He was conversant with and receptive to the subjects and beauty of the old authors, but he was wholly lacking in mental independence, and so subservient to his master Wimpheling's views that he was subjected to ridicule therefor. After him, in 1501, came Hieronymus Gebwyler (1473-1545), who later became a teacher in Strasburg, and afterwards in Hagenau. There was a modern touch in his activity, for more than others he occupied himself with contemporary writings. He based his instruction upon the grammar

of Cochlæus, chose for his pupils the poems of Battista Mantovano or of his colleague Gresemundt, and published the introduction to *Ethics of Aristotle,* by Lefèvre d'Etaples.

This bias for the modern caused Gebwyler to accept the events of the time as a proof of Germanism in Alsatia (*Libertas Germaniæ,* 1519), in which he credulously copied the old tale of the descent of the Germans from the Trojans. His patriotism led him to glorify Emperor Charles V (*Panegyris Carolina,* 1521), but, however, he was not sparing with politico-ecclesiastical exhortations.

Besides this Gebwyler was attracted by historical studies, now concerning the life of the saints, then the genealogy of the Hapsburgers, all diligent, uncritical investigations into which sometimes crept a conscious partisan feeling. He was partial to philological works, for instance, the publication of the comedies of Plautus, which he preferred to those of Terence, and he was fond of religious meditations, and controversies with his opponents. His sentiments were strictly Catholic and bitter against the disciples of the new religion, the more so because he recognized the deficiencies of the old Church, and publicly criticised it, before and after the schism. He denounced the bad morals of the clergy and the scandals at the Roman court.

Gebwyler conducted the Schlettstadter school until 1509, and also taught young men at his home.

One of these thus described the manner of his instruction: "In the morning he goes through the doctrinale (the grammar of Alexander de Villa Dei) with us, at 9 o'clock passages from old authors, Horace, Ovid, and others; in the afternoon the works of Battista Mantovano; Monday we have to treat verse metrically. At 4 o'clock we have to repeat everything that has been taught during the day." As one can judge from the preserved examples, the elucidations which the teacher gave were antiquated and superficial; the mental aspect remained unconsidered; for instance, when the lion or the tiger was spoken of, passages from Virgil and Aulus Gellius were quoted, and instead of an explanation by Pardel, there was the classic sentence: *pardus animal cujus femina pardalis nuncupatur.*

After a short interregnum, Joh. Sapidus (1511-25) became Gebwyler's successor.

"Ich hann vill barbara nomina, ich muss ein mall ein wenig Lateinisch machen." (I have much barbara nomina, I must now do a little Latin.) With these words he, who made himself a Latin name from his German joke, once entered the classroom. This was related by his enthusiastic pupil Thomas Platter, who said of the Schlettstadt institution under his tutelage: "Das war die erst schull, do mich ducht, dass recht zugieng." (This was the first school of which I thought that everything went right.) And he was a man who was qualified to

talk about schools, for he had been through many of them without learning anything of value. He had also seen that "graeca lingua noch nienert im land war." Since no one besides the teacher possessed a printed book, it was necessary to "erstlich dictieren, dann distingwieren, dann construieren, zuletzt erst exponieren." (First dictate, then digest, then construe, and at last expound) what had been read, so that the pupils brought big folios home with them.

In Breslau, there were nine baccalaureates in one room for instruction; in Schlettstadt the school was visited at that time by 900 pupils; (the teacher was allowed to take from everyone ten shilling-pfennige per year), and better order seems to have prevailed in the latter place. The old method had been abandoned; instead of the doctrinale, the grammar of Donatus was now used; the monotonous memorizing gave way to a natural method of learning; the Latin language ceased to be the exclusive subject of instruction; Greek was also taught, and in the treatment of the pupils, the former brutality disappeared. Sapidus (1490-1561), a pupil of Gebwyler, was like him a true adherent of his near relative Wimpheling, with whom he shared in the regeneration of the Christian poet Mantovano, whom he encouraged by comforting words when attacks were made upon him by monks. To Mantovano he very likely dedicated the humorous satirical descrip-

tions which were found in the letters of the obscurants.

But the influence of the master had its limits; religious conviction could not be commanded like scientific opinion; Sapidus went over into the camp of the Reformers, and received from his quondam patron the fearful hint that he would be denounced to the Inquisition. Since Sclettstadt had remained Catholic, Sapidus gave up his school in 1525. He occupied an honorable position in the Reformation movement, even if he himself was not a reformer. He was esteemed by Luther, honored by Zwingli, and described as a future real bishop. After 1538, he again held a school office in Strasburg.

Sapidus was not an industrious author, but the little he wrote deserves attention. He was an ardent Erasmian, and once wrote a "Fight of Gaul and Germania for Germany," in which he described Erasmus as "son of Germany." A collection of his epigrams (1520) united poems of scoff, sentiment and praise, and was remarkable for the mention and eulogy of many notable personalities, and the rigid pointing out of moral conditions, the scorn of women, of the ignorant Scotists, the detractors of Greek studies, and the overzealous Christians, who were confronted with the question, (by a Jew whom they wished to force to eat pork), if their religion was based upon the use of such meat. Finally, the volume laid emphasis upon real Chris-

tianity and theology, which does not consist of ceremonies and outer formalities, but of virtue and love.

What Schlettstadt did in the south and west, the school of Deventer did for the north of Germany, so long as it was under the management of Alexander Hegius (1433-98), who came to Deventer in 1474 and remained there until his death. He developed such activity in the service of Humanism that the eminent men of the following decades liked to boast that they had been pupils of Hegius. To name a few of the prominent ones, Erasmus, Herm. von Busche, Joh. Cæsarius, G. Listrius, Murmellius, Mutian and others had attended his school, and gratefully recognized the merit of the teacher. Hegius was not a broadly learned man. As an anecdote has it, he begrudged even his night rest, and forced himself to work by holding the stump of a candle in his hand, so that in case he was overcome by sleep the burning light would waken him, and cause him to resume his study.

Hegius' works, which were published after his death by a pupil, contained little poems, philosophical treatises, scattered grammatical comments, German translations of Latin expressions, and several letters. They showed a knowledge of the Latin language which was considerable for those opening years of Humanism, and a versatility in expression, with a peculiar liking for play upon words. He had

a superficial knowledge of the Greek language, the use of which he praised in poems, and in odd sentences argued its necessity for the better understanding of some Latin phrases, and several words in usage at divine service. "Only through Greek," he claimed, "we know that we are baptizati." On the other hand, Hebrew books were to him *prorsus ignoti.*

Two commentaries, which Butzbach mentions as having originated from Hegius,—the doctrinale of Alexander, and the poetical writings of Battista Mantovano then so well liked,—do not seem to have been preserved, but the choice of the latter shows the religious tendency of the author. This was prominent in the poems, which were preëminently addressed to the Holy Virgin Mary. He also praised the birth, passion and resurrection of Jesus and many saints, such as Andreas and Agathe. For the tribute to these and similar subjects the poet chose antique meters, and did not fail to make his readers acquainted with them. He eulogized some contemporaries in songs, and the town of Deventer, which he had made famous. He was pleased that so many of his colleagues, particularly the nobles, Herman von Busche and Rudolf von Langen, were driving out barbarism from Germany.

Hegius indulged in polemics against those who wrote "prognostications," and arrogated to themselves the capacity of predicting the future for them-

selves and others. When he deplored the many evils by which mankind are visited, he did not forget to include, besides diseases and war, the deterioration of the coins of the realm. He combated indolence and envy, praised justness, and recommended the fostering of studies as the most worthy occupations. The chief merit of Hegius' did not consist in his literary works, but in his pedagogical activity, in his energetic and successful fight against the instruction books of the Middle Ages, in his insistence that the classics are the only source of correct Latin expression. "He was of those natures born to teach," said Otto Jahn, "who involuntarily educate by their nature, their appearance, attitude and conduct of life, who awaken in the different pupils the mental and moral strength, influence everybody according to his own nature, and who find their full satisfaction in this sort of work.

Hegius was a model to his disciples in a moral respect. He did not refer to his pupils, however, when he pronounced the words: "The service of many is equal to the most terrible death." Originally devoted to a gay conception of life, declaring pleasure as something desirable, he became more and more serious and stern with advancing manhood, paid attention only to literature, which served for forming pious sentiments, and towards the end of his life donned the garb of the priest. He never tired of friendly activity for his pupils and of assist-

ing the poor. He distributed his considerable fortune among the needy, and at his death left nothing but books and wearing apparel.

"Yes, that was a man worthy of all praise that was bestowed upon him deservedly in life and death by the learned men. Like a shining light did he beam forth among the people by his honesty, and among the chorus of the scientists by his all-embracing wisdom and his great gifts before all the others." These were the words of a grateful pupil, Johannes Butzbach (1477-1526), who had come to Deventer in the death year of the master, and although the time was short in which he could live wth the master, remembered his teaching for the rest of his life. The pupil became a religious and well read man who, foregoing the fame of the author, wrote only religious tracts for the edification of his contemporaries, and collected notes about the learned professors of his time.

He became far more eminent, however, by his Book of Travels (Hodoeporicon) than through these long and protracted descriptions and fruitless compilations. In this work he described his own vicissitudes in life, in a simple and attractive manner, and thus gave some important contributions to the recognition of the work of the schools and the life of the pupils in the time of the Humanism.

Johannes Butzbach, who named himself after his native town of Miltenberg (milder Berg = gentle

mountain) Piemontanus, was born in 1477. His father was a weaver and, living in poor circumstances, was glad when a childless, rich and religious relative adopted the boy, who was the predecessor of several more children in the family of the impoverished weaver. The woman treated the lad with tenderness, but insisted that he should attend school. This was so repugnant to him that the godmother had to beat him before he would obey. However, the good woman died soon after, and however painful the loss was to the boy, his grief was tempered by the belief that he was through with the hateful school business. But he was disappointed, for his parents forced him to continue school. In order to escape the torture to which he was subjected he hid himself, lied to his parents and deceived the teacher. When his escapade was discovered, he was forcibly brought to school, and punished so terribly that his parents had to take him away, but they procured a more suitable office for the brutal schoolmaster, that of the *Stadtbuettel* (town-bully).

In the meantime, the boy was as jubilant as if he had escaped jail; he even believed he had reached the goal of his wishes, when his father resolved to attach him as juvenile companion (*Schuetz*) to an itinerant teacher (*Bachant*), who was staying in Miltenberg. The boy in his childish delight parted almost gladly with his parents, who bade him fare-

well with great concern and pain. Soon, however, the lad learned he had been deceived in his hope of leading a nice, comfortable life with his elder companion. The peregrinating evangelist traveled only to attend to the welfare of his body, and cared nothing for the intellectual training of his charge or himself. He even employed the boy exclusively to procure money and food.

In this degraded capacity Butzbach had to stand the brutal treatment of his master, the taunts of the pupils, and besides that, the wrathful refusals of the housewives, often accompanied by violence and the attacks of dogs and the servants of justice. It is strange that those youths, who were placed, at a tender age, in the charge of rough and vicious leaders, did not perish physically and morally. That many struggled successfully through these adverse surroundings and gained renown was proof of great moral strength. Among these fortunate ones was Butzbach.

He wandered through many towns and villages of southeast Germany with his tutor, and the farther he traveled, the more he had to suffer. The results of begging being insufficient, Johannes was forced to steal, despite his protests. Once he was even asked to dig for buried treasures, and evaded the order by a hairbreadth. Thus he had come through Nürnberg, Bamberg and Regensburg to Bohemia, stayed for awhile in Eger, where his guardian

decided it would be advisable to visit a good school.

There Butzbach found at last the opportunity to carry out his long-conceived plan to run away from his tormentor. The attempt failed the first time, and brought him a frightful chastisement, but a second effort succeeded. Butzbach was free, and glad enough to escape to the near by watering place, Karlsbad. Instead of using his stay there to give his bruised body needed rest and recuperation, he acted as a waiter in one of the inns already in existence. This vocation, which was not any more conducive to his scientific activity than his previous work had been, was soon abandoned in order to serve a Bohemian nobleman as a valet. His experience taught him many things, some of which it would have been better had he never learned.

In his roamings from place to place, Butzbach acquired a knowledge of the Bohemian language and customs, and came to Prague, with whose splendor he was fascinated, although he condemned the Hussitic agitation against heresy prevailing there as in all parts of Bohemia. After he had spent three years in various localities, he felt such a longing for his home that he resolved to flee. He scorned the help of a sorceress, who promised to transport him to his Fatherland in a day and a half, and so he escaped, trusting in his own power to take care of himself.

The youth had to go through many a hardship before he came to Miltenberg. In one town he plied the butcher's trade, and in order to obtain a short transport on his way, he told to one merchant a graphic tale of his noble origin. When he finally arrived at his destination he learned that his father had died long before, and he now had a stepfather. The latter was friendly and brought him shortly afterwards to Aschaffenburg, to learn the tailoring trade. Johannes served his apprenticeship, then went to Mainz, where he attended industriously to his new business. It was in this town which abounded in cloisters that he felt in himself the awakening of a yearning for the monastic life, which he was sure would do him good after the stormy career of his youth. So with a view to realize his plan, he went to Johannesberg as a monastic tailor. When there, however, the long suppressed desire for learning stirred deeply within him. Although he was twenty-one years of age and had hardly mastered the first elementary principles of science, he had the unshakable confidence that he would be able to overcome all obstacles. He went to Deventer. There he had to begin on the school bench with little children, but he easily conquered all obstacles and advanced within two years from the eighth class to the third.

Not only how to gain an education, but how to make his living caused him worry. He tried to meet

material needs by plying his trade. Illness was caused by the climate to which he was unaccustomed, and finally temptations of companions less strong than he sought to estrange him from the school. But he held fast until, with one companion, he was induced by the prior of Laach to enter the cloister.

So Johannes quit school in December, 1500, and arrived at his new destination after wandering through the Rheingau, which was remarkably beautiful in winter. Entering the convent as a novice, he took upon himself the monastic vow after a brief probation. He was happy in his vocation, which he considered the grandest of all, and was joyously excited over the virtue and activity of his companions. He was delighted with the enchanting landscape, and the splendid buildings in which he meant to spend the remaining days of his life.

Deventer was always lovable to Johannes, but more so when the old place was under the management of Hegius than in the new one, much changed by the successors in accordance with later views. The importance of Deventer rapidly dwindled, partly in consequence of the death of the powerfully active teacher, and partly on account of new and flourishing sister institutions,—Emmerich in the south, Münster in the east and Alkmaar in the northwest. Only one of these—Münster—deserves description, particularly because of the personalities of Rudolf von Langen and Johannes Murmellius.

They were to be credited largely for the prosperity of the institutions. They were not famous men, but throughout their active lives labored in the same direction, and by their unanimity of purpose were influential and progressive.

Rudolf von Langen was born in 1438 and died in 1519. He was more settled than any of his learned contemporaries, and never seemed to be infected by the impulse (specially Humanistic) to wander over the country. He was induced to go to Italy several times and derived much benefit from the inspiration gained there, but he never shared the irreligious sentiment of Italian Humanists, nor did he emulate their frivolous mode of life. He was an old man, who meant to preserve his juvenility by surrounding himself with the young, a sympathetic helper of the poor, and a stanch priest. However, he was a very mediocre poet and historian, who lacked all the qualities of a writer of history.

Above all, he was an active, deeply conscientious man who clung unfalteringly to his life's plan, the reorganization of the school in Münster, and he finally achieved it, in spite of all opposition, though much of it originated in Münster. He would not be influenced by the Koelner theologians. Sporadic Humanistic activities had appeared in this domain. In 1485, a Latin comedy was presented by Kerckmeister, who called himself *gymnasiarcha Monas-*

teriensis—the new foundation of the dome-school. The appointment of Alexander Hegius, who declined to accept it, was undoubtedly the work of Langen.

The institution came into existence in 1500, at first with four classes, to which two new ones were added a decade later, as ecclesiastical in their nature. Special stress was therefore laid upon religious instruction, and afterwards Latin was taught—since 1512, Greek also—philosophy, poetry, rhetoric and dialectics. The Humanistic nature of this school showed itself from the beginning by its preference for the Latin language, and by the methodical method of the instruction, and later by the reshaping of the materials for instruction books, through replacement of the medieval ones by those of modern date and more to the actual purpose.

Three men who deserve a place in the history of German Humanism had been collaborators at this reorganization. The first was Timan Kemner, Münster's pioneer rector since 1500 (born 1470, died 1535); a meritorious schoolman and an industrious historian. His pedagogic ability was not disputed by anyone. His literary works, however, which he liked to describe as compendia, that is, compendiums of logic, rhetoric, dialectics and natural philosophy, were called by an opponent "Dispendias of the pupils." In the beginning of his activities, he wrote comments upon medieval in-

struction books, and towards the end of his life hoped, by vilifying the same, to be able to cause his early works in that field to be forgotten, for he knew how to enhance his merit at others' expense in order to boast of his own achievements.

The second was Anton Tunnicius (1481-1544). His merit consisted primarily in his publication of the first collection of German proverbs, which contained besides them, Latin translations circumscribing the sense, and written in hexameters. One cannot safely judge from such a group the ability of the compiler, because he was too much restricted to his subject, and consequently it is not possible to make any special selection. It is safe to ascribe to Tunnicius religious and anti-clerical sentiments, together with Humanistic inclinations. The latter is recognized not only by the fact that the author deemed it necessary to append Latin translations to his proverbs, but also by his borrowing of many sayings from Roman authors and the not infrequent recommendation of the Latin language.

The third man, Johannes Murmellius, the most eminent of the three mentioned (1480-1517), became rector of the Ludgeri school in Münster after he had finished his work at the dome (cathedral) school, consequent upon a quarrel with Kemner. Later he was the superior of the school in Alkmaar, and brought it to great prosperity. He was pedagogue, philologian and poet, a man of a serious

frame of mind, and a busy participant in the affairs of the time, ready to fight, bold, and inconsiderate in his attack, so that it is quite likely that he met his untimely death through the base revenge of an angered opponent. His pedagogical writings were the most important. He was a pious pedagogue, who did not place knowledge above faith and morals. His principles were: "Nothing is more pernicious than a learned and with it a wicked man," or "Not to know is better than to learn in guilt." He agitated for theology, even when against the theologians, and made it plain that in all his writings he approved of nothing "that would not be resolved and accepted by the Roman Catholic Church."

One of his pedagogical writings had passed through 77 editions by the end of the last century. Three of his instructional productions deserve brief mention. The first, the *Enchiridion scholasticorum,* which in its investigation as to whether public or private instruction was to be preferred, decided in favor of the former, emphasized the necessity of learning for the princes, praised the blessing of the invention of printing, and reluctantly conceded to Italy the ecclesiastical primate. It gave instruction in the duties of teachers and pupils, placed great value upon the physical and moral training, and essayed a logical method of school instruction.

In the first place, the author demanded the learning of grammar, then a many-sided study of the art

of poetry; dialectic served to sharpen the reason, and was nothing but a preparation for philosophy; the school was only the first step in the study of the sciences, among which he conceded the place of honor to theology. He once used in this writing a fine phrase: "Childhood (*pueritia*) vanishes fast, but childishness (*puerilitas*) remains, if one does not banish it by study." The second volume, *pappa puerorum,* was in the main a book of exercises for German boys for acquiring the Latin language. For this purpose, the author compiled a collection of the proverbs most used, a Latin-German dictionary, and an enumeration of the chief rules of customs and manners, and told a series of dialogues between two schoolboys. In these dialogues, which were given in both German and Latin versions, the youths practiced in scolding and in the use of drinking phrases, which was typical of the naïve conception of the time. It strikes one as very peculiar, when he reads the instruction of the teacher. The pupil had to translate *nebulo, veterator* and *carnifex* into "lecker, unflat, henkermaessig Bube" (lickspittle, scurrilous fellow, bloodthirsty boob), or call to a companion who would not return the "pledge" at the beer table, either the German words: *Ich sal dit kruyskendich voer den kop werpen* (I ought to throw this mug at your head), or the classic phrase: *Nisi tandundem potaris, hunc calicem in os tibi impingam.*

The third book, *Scoparius* (broom), "against the precursors in the fight against barbarism and the detractors of humanity" was to serve, to do away with the old instruction books of grammar and dialectics, to recommend the scientific ones of the Humanists, to impress the opponents by a representative list of the editions and commentaries of the classic authors which had appeared in the last decades, to recommend among the authors those suitable for reading at schools, in spite of all objection to their boasting of their moral sense, and it especially demanded the study of the Holy Scriptures.

The commonly used grammatical handbook, until the beginning of the sixteenth century, was the *Doctrinale,* (originating in 1199), of Alexander de Villedieu (*de Villa dei*), which compiled the rules of word sentence and verse knowledge in the worst verses thinkable, the understanding alone of which required concentrated study. As it was intended more as a manual for the teacher than an instruction book for the pupil, it was less the fault of the author than of the unthinking users—who were to be found for several centuries in all European countries and counted by the thousands—that this work, with its even worse glossaries, became the almost sole basis of linguistic instruction.

The author sinned grievously otherwise. In the first place, the classification in his work lacked the

necessary order. The twelve chapters contained consecutive rules about regular and irregular declination, comparative and superlative, genus, præterita and supina, irregular verbs, individual classes of verbs, for instance, *frequentativa;* uses of the cases, construction, both of the verbs and of the adjectives, and conjunctions; metric accents and grammatical figures. Such a classification is illogical and could not give the pupil a correct idea of the language. But the worst fault of the work was the mental independence which one praised in other authors as a special advantage, for here it was not a sign of an original method of thinking, but the result of a limited conception and a foolish hatred of the Roman classics.

It was still worse with the dictionaries, except that their utter foolishness and incompleteness made the struggle lighter and the victory easier. One of the worst was that by Hugutio, originating in the thirteenth century, which strove to be particularly strong in etymology. It proved the ignorance of the author when he attempted to derive Latin words from Latin itself, like *auscultare,*—from *aures sono culcare,* or lictor,—from *legis ictor;* but it became ludicrous when it undertook to explain Greek words through Latin ones, such as presbyter from *præbet suis iter* or *anachoretus* from *cor agentes,* namely, *je junio,* and it gave evidence of the most absurd ignorance when it endeavored to display a knowl-

edge of Greek by explanations like *arismetica* (arithm.),—*arcs quod est virtus et richimus quod est numerus* or *kataklysmos,—kata quod est universale et clysmaqod est pars, omnes partes.*

The fact that a real knowledge of the languages of ancient times could not be acquired through such material was not so universal among the Humanists of the older generation as one would expect. It lasted for decades, until the first timid attempts were made to supersede these books in the schools and Humanism had attained its end, and new and adequate books had taken the place of the old and useless ones. The beginning of such a reform was made in Reuchlin's great work, the *Vocabularius breviloquus,* printed some twenty-five times within a quarter of a century (1478-1504), which—if not at all perfect—inaugurated at least the great progress when it attacked the old authors themselves, and, instead of being a concordance for the Latin translation of the Bible—the *Vulgata*—showed a desire to collect the word treasures of the Roman classics and classify them.

The grammars and dictionaries which were composed by the Humanists, and designed to take the place of those antiquated ones had either a direct leaning upon individual authors of the ancients, and were special dictionaries of some frequently used authors, or real encyclopedias. They were unim-

portant so far as the contents or volume was concerned, or else they were interrelated and the dictionary became only a supplement of the grammar. Of this nature was the vocabulary of Joh. Altensteig which from 1508 was one of the favorite manuals of the new school. There was no question of alphabetical arrangement, but the words were given according to the eight parts of speech, and the alphabetical order was not always observed within the individual parts themselves. Of the numericals only the initial ones were given, with the information that anyone wishing to know the others, must refer to Lorenzo Valla.

Such reference to modern authors was quite common, though the frequent reference to Greek was more to display the newly acquired knowledge than to give necessary explanation. Rarely was consideration shown for German, since the users were to become Latinists.

The grammars in which Altensteig intended to furnish the explanatory aggregation of words were those of Joh. Heinrichmann and Joh. Brassikan, two Tuebinger professors. The chief fault of these books was the scant consideration shown for extraneous matter, the typographical arrangement, through which the eye alone was able to differentiate the essential and the unessential and the division. In some instances they were not free from oddities: they called eight cases, seven and eight, gave the

ablativus without preposition and the *dativus,* which stood in its stead, an *accusativus* governed by a preposition. To the adverbs they added Romæ and Tubingæ. If the latter quotation mentioned a town in which they lived, specimen sentences revealed allusions to the time, as well as to the sentiment of the authors: thus, "Maximilian and Maria are very just; Constanz, a town near Switzerland, but which will never separate from the Empire; it is said that Basel had separated from Germany," etc. They cared more, however, for the molding of science than for that of the empire, so at intervals they heaved a sigh for Germany's enemies, but did not omit a warning against the enemies of knowledge. When they placed *hic* before the noun in the declination, instead of the article, they did not forget to add that, when the latter word stood by itself, it was a pronoun and not an article, as the ignoramus thinks. They vehemently disapproved "the expressions which the barbarians use," and they emphasized the fact that, like lead from iron, so the real true Latin distinguished itself from that of the sophists. Through the teaching of this language they believed they had rendered a service to Germany; and they received full praise therefor by being pronounced by Heinrich Bebel the equals of the Roman heroes and compared with Manlius and Camillus.

The reform of the schools did not stop with the

reshaping of the instruction books alone. It was necessary to overcome the repulsion toward the schools which was prevalent in many circles. The knights considered learning a defamation of their social rank, the poorer classes looked upon them as superfluous and wasters of time, and the clergy condemned them as a means of that strengthening of irreligiousness.

The fight against the latter was one of the chief tasks of Humanism. The poorer people might be tempted by the better positions which awaited the educated, and the knights were regenerated by virtue of the better spirit which took possession of the nobles. One of the best of their number, Sigismund von Herberstein (1486-1566), who acquired great merit as a traveler, historian and diplomat, reported in his autobiography for the year 1497: "On account of the school I had to listen to much taunting from the uneducated. They called me a doctor baccalaureum, 'Vossen,' scrivener and pupil. To those who called me a doctor I gave the answer: 'I would be sorry to be none, but I have learned something and know how to write and other things more than you can do, and think myself better for it. Such knowledge has brought me much fame among the educated.'" The sentiment which Herberstein expressed in these words soon spread among his companions, and in the first decades of the sixteenth century many nobles adorned their names

with the title "doctor and miles" (knight and professor).

Furthermore, the school discipline needed to be improved, that is, relaxed. In the first period of Humanism cruel beating was practiced. Luther told that he was *gestaucpt* (tortured) fifteen times by a teacher, and Erasmus reported that a schoolmaster always dragged a pupil from the table, after the common meal, to hand him over to a savage brute to be chastised, who released even a weakly boy only when he himself was bathed in perspiration and the boy lay half dead at his feet. The teacher, who had repeatedly but in vain tried to stop the wretch by calling to him "That's enough," then turned with an unperturbed air to the pupils and said: "He did not do anything, but he had to be humiliated."

In this respect there soon came the blessing of a change. Luther spoke of a far different teacher, Trebonius in Eisenach, who took off his hat as soon as he had entered the classroom, and said to the school attendant: "There are boys sitting here out of whom God makes mayors, chancellors and doctors."

The barbaric treatment by the teachers, however, was sometimes caused by the shocking behavior of the pupils. Enough bad elements were to be found among them,—the bacchants, who were daring fellows and often beyond the usual age of a pupil, and the schuetzen, already corrupted in their child-

hood, who in consequence of other hard occupations had very little liking and capacity for learning.

With such natures among the pupils one of the most remarkable occurrences was described by a recently published Nürnberg chronicler: "On the 17 July, 1500, the pupils of the St. Sebaldus school at Nürnberg refused their teachers to enter the school; they could not be induced to abandon their attitude by remonstrations, and had to be beleaguered by the town militia. The latter at first refused to intervene as they were offended by a previous remark of the schoolmaster, who said to them: 'they should manage the thieves on the gallows, his pupils he could manage himself,' but at a command of the authorities, took the school by storm, the defenders protecting themselves with spears, however only a few were found within, as most of them had saved themselves by leaping out of the windows. Against the rebels was published a resolution of the town council, which imposed upon them to stay away from the town for a year, or suffer the punishment of the schoolmaster, *der ez ziemlicherwegs mitt in halt in peywesen dess priesters so uber der schul gesetzt ist.*" The disturbances however continued, and Humanism seemed to share in the guilt of the continuance of the riots. In 1503 there was a report that the poets, which would include the more advanced pupils, who studied Humaniora, got into a quarrel with the under

teacher, who wished to use them for choir service. The quarrel grew and one of the consequences was that several teachers were dismissed, and the pupils were suspended for some time. In relating these facts the chronicler added, "This has not happened in a hundred or a thousand years."

It was the great merit of Jakob Wimpheling (1450-1528) that he wrought reforms in this and other respects. Wimpheling's literary activity, of which we have given many proofs, was pedagogical through and through. It not only showed the endeavor to promote instruction of the youth and to reorganize the same, but it imposed upon itself a greater and more expansive task. By the way in which he intended to impart to the school boys a more embracing knowledge, making it easy and comprehensible and therefore quickly assimilated, he hoped to implant in the youth of the universities an aspiration for higher things (Heidelberg speeches); to establish a code for their moral behavior and scientific attitude as representatives of the different vocations; to place before the jurists in the *Apologia pro republica christiana,* and the theologians—including the princely scions—in the book *De integritate,* the sublime and difficult elements in their spheres. *Agatharchia,* addressed to Ludwig, son of the Pfalzgraf Philipp, was meant to strengthen the princes in their endeavors, and to encourage them in the fulfillment of high tasks (Philippica). And as

with the princes so with the people. In almost every one of his writings there was a repetition of the exhortation to the German people to shake off ignorance, in order to prove the unjust reproach of the other nations concerning their barbarity. Regarded in this sense, Wimpheling's *Epitome rerum Germanicarum,* the first universal German history, was nothing else but an education of the German people in patriotism through history.

For Wimpheling's special teaching of education, two writings come under consideration: *Isidoneus* and *Adolescentia.* The features particularly prominent in them were the constant pointing to everything German in both nature and language and the laying stress upon the close connection between instruction and bringing up, the inculcation of necessary and useful knowledge together with the strengthening of the morale and religiousness. At the head of the first named writing was the declaration that a blissful and thorough education of the children is the only real basis of religion, forming the ground pillars of a moral life, an ornament to every social rank and vocation, and the salvation of the state. From it was dependent the more correct conception of theology and all other sciences and arts, and the sure victory over vice and dishonesty.

The *Isodeneus* (guide post) began with instructions for learning the Latin language. They

strongly recommended application to the most essential points, conveying the warning not to use rambling and irrelevant commentaries; they placed special value upon the practical application of the knowledge for the writing of letters, speechmaking, and the reception of guests. The mastery of grammar had to be followed by the study of the classics. The detractors of the ancient poets were christened with variegated epithets: "two-legged asses," "moles," "indolent beasts," and so on were those styled who deemed education possible without the study of ancient literature, or who thought they jeopardized their morals and religiousness by reading heathen authors. However, such promiscuous reading was not permitted. Juvenal and Martial and the elegists were prohibitive in themselves, and Persius and Ovid had to be excluded from the school. Of the comedians, Plautus deserved the preference. Instruction in Latin, however, was only the foundation, not the entire aim, which was training in the sciences and the ennobling of the morality. "If ever," so we read in one passage, "the old prosperity of Christian life and a true regeneration of our church can be reëstablished, they must have their origin in an excellent education." Of necessity the teacher had to be a shining example, not only by virtue of his own knowledge but by his moral conduct. He would have to instruct and admonish his pupils, not chastise them. Not even

with a single finger should the head of a boy be touched.

Wimpheling's second book, containing sections in poetry and prose, reading extracts from other authors, among which the old and new were pretty equally considered, with occasional political allusions, encouragements for wars upon the Turks, and violent sallies against the obduracy of the Swiss, was in the main devoted to education, not instruction. It searched the ways of children and tried to fix the aims of education. In the traits of the young he distinguished between good and bad, and admonished to promote the former and to combat the latter; for instance,—lustfulness, shiftlessness, violence and lying. He regarded as the goal of education the attainment of true morality and the strengthening of religiousness. In order to achieve all this he demanded reverence to the faith and the priests, modesty, cleanliness, economical sense and moderation in speech and action, etc. Wimpheling was neither a practical schoolman nor a philosopher; that is, he never held public office connected with the school, nor established an independent philosophical system, but he lacked thorough psychological knowledge and, perhaps, true philosophical sense. Still he was the pedagogical classic of the times, and merits this place of honor on account of his faithful efforts devoted entirely to one object and maintained throughout his life, and because of the en-

thusiasm in him, which he infused into others.

Two faults were attached to Wimpheling's teaching and instruction, faults which were intensified by the most eminent schoolman of the sixteenth century, Johannes Sturm of Strasburg. These were the absence of real instruction and the expulsion of the German language. Sturm, the one-sided philologist, added a third defect, which must be classified like the two former ones as corruptions of Humanism. Sturm moved all levers, theoretical instruction, exploitation of school literature, and written and verbal exercises, with a view of making orators of his pupils, who seemingly should have been able to rival Cicero. He raised the imitation (*imitatio*) of a dead idiom above everything which could not produce a true revival. This exclusive devotion to oratory had a further disadvantage, in that the poets were regarded only superficially, and according to their elegance in rhetoric and eloquence. This meant that all that could be derived from them which would tend to serve for the regeneration of taste, the elevation of the mind, and the ennobling of the heart, was pushed to the background or purposely put aside.

Despite these and similar efforts, for in the same sense as Sturm in Strasburg, were Val Trotzendorf in Golberg, Michael Neander in Ilfeld and others who worked, Germany did not become a second

Latium. Some of the Humanists of a later epoch were boastful about Germany having reached Rome, as Frischlin in his comedy *Julius redivivus,* when he made Cicero, who was asked his judgment about the modern poets, give the answer:

> Was ich meine?
> Was Andres, als dass ich beschwoeren moechte,
> Es muessen alle Berge deutschen Bodens
> Parnass' und Helikone sein, die Quellen
> All Hippokrenen, ueberdem so fliesse
> (Wie Fabeln von der Arethusa melden)
> Der Strom Permessus unterirdisch durch
> Verborg'ne Hoehlen in den deutschen Rhein,

Those who could see deeper realized that, with this fostering of superficial culture, education must remain absolutely one-sided, while the essential nature of all that was German was placed in jeopardy. This danger, however, was not the fault of Wimpheling and his adherents, but of Sturm and his companions. The former were like children who stared curiously at what they had never seen before, seized it eagerly, and held on to it wilfully and spitefully. They should have been men, whose duty it was to investigate the actualities according to their lasting value for the period and for the people.

Between Wimpheling's and Sturm's days there was nearly half a century. The former had become great in the revival epoch of ancient times, the latter (born 1507) had already heard in his child-

hood of the reawakening of the German spirit and the German language. Consequently it was not the fault of Humanism that the schools did not promote national development sufficiently, and produced shortcomings in its place. These lingered long but the narrow-minded professors, in the second half of the sixteenth century, transferred the unaltered tendencies of a former school to an altered epoch.

CHAPTER V

THE UNIVERSITIES

IN times of powerful, national disturbance, when the academic youth true to his vocation shows himself a custodian of ideal possessions, one is wont to make the assertion anew that the German universities have always been at the head of the intellectual movements. This assertion, however, is absolutely unhistorical. If one wants to convince oneself of this truth, it is only necessary to glance at the cultural development of the last century, in which the universities remained almost inactive in the face of the wonderful excitement of the public mind, or at that of the seventeenth century, when they made a stubborn resistance to the pressing demand of many thinkers for the introduction of the German language and, contrary to the enlightening tendencies of the progressive thinkers, remained defenders of many dead conceptions and institutions. Moreover, in the epoch of Humanism, the intellectual uplift did not emananate from the universities, but was carried into them by outsiders, the younger generation who, antagonizing the

authority of the older one, showed its inclination from the beginning towards the new spirit, while their elders, who preferred to hold to their views and customs, could only gradually, and often after a long and violent struggle, become accustomed to the new customs and sentiments.

The universities of the Middle Ages, which were founded rather numerously after the establishment of Prague (1348, Vienna 1365, Heidelberg 1385, Cologne 1388, Erfurt 1392, Leipzig 1409, Rostock 1409), and which in the time of Humanism sprang up still more rapidly (Greifswald 1456, Freiburg and Basel 1460, Ingolstadt 1472, Mainz and Tuebingen 1476, Wittenberg 1502 and Frankfort on Oder 1506), to which Marburg may be added although its foundation falls into the period of the Reformation (1527), were at first entirely creations of the Church, and were partly so later on. Not only were church possessions set aside for their maintenance, but the clergy induced their foundation, and the pope gave his confirmation of the new institutions through a bull, which in many instances could be obtained only after several journeys to Rome and the payment of considerable sums of money. At a later period, after the towns had already manifested their desire to have universities, founding was introduced and perhaps sanctioned by the princes. The first emperor who confirmed a university by sanction on the

strength of his own authority was Maximilian I, who sternly imposed upon the electors the order that each one should have a university in his territory. Thus, with the growing feeling of independence among the temporal powers, started the outer and inner liberation of the universities from the Church.

The number of students cannot be easily ascertained from the carefully kept matriculation records. These were in the main well preserved, but everybody was entered in them who had any connection whatever with the university, including the teachers and even the artisans. The stupendous figures, which were not infrequently named as evidence for the general desire for education, were immensely exaggerated. Paulsen gave to Basel, for the first twenty years, an average attendance of 280 students, and during the following equally long period, one of 177; for Tuebingen 233, and for Erfurt, in the time of its greatest prosperity (1450-79) one of 852, which was truly a very respectable number.

The age at which students went to the university greatly varied. Often they had not grown out of their boyhood. Melanchthon, who came to the university at twelve, and Reuchlin at fifteen, were by no means rare cases. Frequently they were past the proper period of education and were even old gentlemen, married men and fathers. Thus it happened that students got their penalties cancelled or relaxed

in consideration for their good wives, or the pleadings of their children. It is recorded that one of them had to go to the college lockup for four weeks because he had beaten his wife.

The youthful age of the majority of the students had its justification in the fact that the lowest and most numerously attended branch, that of the artists, was analogous to our colleges and afforded the necessary philological and philosophical preëducation for other studies. Therefore, it was not by any means a rare occurrence for scholars to leave the university in the midst of their study, the poorer ones perhaps in the hope of being able to resume their work after improving their financial conditions; the well-to-do in order to enter into practical life, something like the sons of modern educated families who turn to some trade or business, after a half-finished course at a high school. Others stuck to it, acquiring after about three years the title of a baccalaureus, and after three and a half years the dignity of a magister. The majority remained as teachers at the university to which they had belonged as students.

Higher than the artist faculty were the remaining ones, with a much scantier attendance. The most meager class was the medical one, since only the large towns could pay a physician. Almost as weak was the theological branch, because the majority of the ecclesiastics, in spite of the recommendation

and the favor of the study by the Church, did not study at all, or contented themselves, if they went to a university with a course of canonical right or the preparatory studies in the artist faculty. The juristic course was a little stronger, especially after the introduction of Roman law in Germany, the institution of the supreme court of appellation (*Reichskammergericht*), and several provincial courts, had caused an unexpected need of learned judges.

Besides the division into faculties there was the segregation into nations, like that in the already existing universities abroad, but it had only a local significance at home, while there it was of national importance. Moreover, it had lost in Germany, a long time before, the privileges at elections, etc., whereas these formed the essential part of the constituents abroad.

The majority of students lived with the professors, who sometimes were not much more than older pupils, for, as Paulsen has neatly explained: "By learning the course was commenced, by learning and teaching it was continued, and by merely teaching it was concluded, in order to be given back to practical life in the capacity of a clerical office as a rule." The living together of the students and the docents was made possible because until the middle of the fifteenth century the professors were unmarried. The statutes of most universities enjoined celibacy. The Vienna matriculation expressed its judgment

of a professor about to be married in the annihilating words: *uxorem duxit versus in dementiam.*

Through the lay element coming forward at the time and under the influence of Humanism, many exceptions from the rule occurred, but the rule itself was only abolished by the Reformation. The magister lived with his students,—generally about twelve paying ones, to which were added a few poor ones, —in university or donation houses called "bursen," hence the word "bursch" (freshman or sophomore). The magister was the "regens" or "rector," who not only boarded and clothed his students, and provided them with teaching auxiliaries, but also instructed them. The "scholaren" (scholars) accompanied their magister on excursions and, as a whole, formed his retinue of servants.

Life was devoted to common work and pious exercises, and enjoyment was tabooed. According to the injunctions of a Freiburg professor, in 1496: "As wisdom is not found in the homes of those who live well, sumptuous meals and all delicacies, as well as wicked sirenes, have to keep a respectable distance from our house of the sapienta." It was so everywhere. The reported contents of a bill of fare of the two meals in a Leipzig bursen, may illustrate the aforesaid: *Primum dicitur semper,* that is, *teutonice, grutz* (gruel), verbally "always," as it was never absent from any meal; *secundum continue,* that is, *sop* (soup), verbally "continuous,"

perhaps also continued into the infinite, that is, through dilution by water; *tertium cottidie,* that is, *muss* (marmalade), verbally "daily"; *quartum frequentum,* that is, *magerfleisch* (lean meat), verbally "frequently"; *quintum raro,* that is, *gebroettes* (roast), verbally "rarely"; *sextum numquam,* that is, *kesse* (sweets), verbally "never"; *septimum aliquando,* that is, *epfel und birn* (apples and pears), verbally "sometimes."

This state of affairs lasted throughout the whole period of Humanism. However, the constraint which the bursen exercised became unbearable to the young people; to the enjoyment seekers because they found themselves, by the strict supervision, deceived in their hope of a free and easy life; and to the aspiring ones because they despised the manner and material of learning, which was essentially the same as used at the school. These heaped scorn and sarcasm upon the bursen, upon the leaders of the "convictes" and the remaining university teachers, and through the fact that they were the loudest and most violent in their denunciations, effected the acceptance of their views although they were in the minority.

However, the reorganization of the universities which the Humanists were endeavoring to bring about was not confined to the outer appointments, but extended to the value of the teachings, which found its expression in the arrangement of the

faculties. If formerly the artist faculty, though described in high-sounding words as the "food provider of all other studies," was only the preparation for a higher vocation, it was now to become the real center of the university, of course with a sensible and sacrificing loyalty to the studies of ancient times. It was not long before this opinion became the prevailing one.

To this end wrought all who fostered the study of Humanism,—not only the younger people, who posed as the sworn enemies of the ancient, but the moderates, who were by no means the unconditional adherents of the orators and even partly hated the "poets." As an example, one of the most respected of the moderates, Jakob Wimpheling, may be mentioned. He made a speech at Heidelberg, in 1499, "for the harmony between dialecticians and orators," in which he pointed out the necessity of having the Humaniora taught on the programme of the universities. This admonition was necessary so far as Heidelberg was concerned, for this university offered little or nothing to youths who wished to devote themselves to Humanistic studies. "Nobody," complained Celtes, "teaches Latin grammar here or devotes himself to the free study of the orators. Mathematics is an unknown thing, nobody cares for astronomy, one smiles at the poets of the ancients, and evinces fear at the books of Virgil and Cicero." Thus the necessity was stated, but the

substantiation was somewhat remarkable. "For these studies," so thought the speaker, "many German young men go to Italian universities. Would it not be more honorable and useful for our Fatherland if they could learn here and spend their money here?" He then pointed to other high schools which foster these studies, to Basel, Tuebingen, Ingolstadt, Vienna, and concluded with the eloquent but unhistorical declaration that Heidelberg, as the oldest German university, ought not to be behind the younger institutions.

The introduction of the Humanistic curriculum, however, prepared for the future a highly lamentable one-sidedness, namely, the predominance of the philological training over the acquisition of the knowledge of the realities,—a one-sidedness however which, bad as it subsequently became, was not serious in its incipient stage because, with the imperfect observation of nature prevailing in those times, the study of natural history and medicine was promoted by a diligent use of the ancient authors saved from oblivion.

The members of the new school, who disapproved of the material method of teaching in the old universities, must have been dissatisfied with the degrees and dignities bestowed there. What could they care for a token of promotion, given by such as were thought by them unworthy? And again: the academic title seemed to be a *conditio sine qua*

non for an office in the town council or at the regents court. The true Humanist, especially the younger one, who did not yet know the worries of life, might be freed from care through support by his father or some wealthy patron, and hence deem the acceptance of an office incompatible with the devotion to a free study.

The struggle against the academic degrees came to the fore in all periods of the Renaissance and in every country in which it became dominant. Not to mention the well known example of Petrarch, the Englishman Wickliffe (died 1384) sought to prove that the preaching of the evangelism by non-graduates was biblically justified, and admissible so far as the Church was concerned, and the Netherlander Vivis (died 1540) endeavored to explain its frequent bestowal upon unworthies, on "cooks, tailors, carpenters, even brigands," if he did not fully condemn the dignity, through the fact that the prebends accepted money.

The fight was waged fiercely in Germany and perhaps was instigated by Enea Silvio's violent condemnation of the university teachers. Already Felix Hemmerlin, in scoffing at donor and receiver of such dignities, proposed to appoint doctors of foolishness and found approval with his suggestion, as the old, well known joke (doctor, *Doc Thor, Thor* = fool) is proof. Bartholomaus of Cologne thought such a title was an empty word and did not

signify any wisdom. To mention an extremist by the side of these two gentle beings, Andreas Carlstadt, who called himself a new layman, did not wish to be called either magister or doctor, because he would not accept an empty honor, which Christ forbade to his disciples.

The repulsion for such false adornment was particularly pronounced in Erfurt. "Where reason is presiding, there is no want for doctors." In these words the master of the young community, Mutian, expressed his condemnation and advised the youths not to apply for such titles; and when he did counsel them to do so, he added something like this: "so that you may be able under this mask to inspire fear into the ignorant," or with the recommendation, one should, instead of learning what was demanded, bribe the teachers and buy their vote, for it did not matter to investigate seriously, "what quarrelsome sophists judge about the community of our youths."

From Erfurt came two works which led the fight against titles with victorious sarcasm: Hutten's "Nemo" and the letters of the obscurants (*Dunkelmänner*). Hutten had never applied for an academic title, and when he was called "doctor" in a letter of appointment by the archbishop of Mainz, he was perhaps indebted for the unmerited honor to the effort of the author of the letter to speak with as much pomp as possible of his ambassador.

Hutten had even returned from Italy without bringing with him the jurist title.

Through such neglect of settled custom he had aggravated the disfavor of his people, who were dissatisfied with the study of the young knight and wanted to see some outer sign or indication of it. Hutten had often heard from them and the representatives of the old-school wisdom that he was practically nothing without a title. This reproach led him to work out an old poetical joke, in which of the "Nobody" all possible good and bad is told, the "witz" (joke) of which, as Strauss said, "consists in the ambiguity, that this nobody at first appears to be a real person, of whom extremely incredible things are told, until he suddenly bursts into nothing as a mere negative." The serious view he took from the dedication to Crotus, at the end of which he said: "Well now, we who are of a great and free spirit, we would rather do everything than serve the judgment of the mob, we want to be nothing, because we strive to be good, we want to know nothing, because we know many a thing well. If you mean the same as I do, then we will disdain the foolish verdict, and smiling at the silliness of mankind, remain a nothing forever; may others become doctors, and boast with the title, because they cannot reach the thing itself."

The letters of the obscurants are replete with sarcasms about the title hunt, and the eternally long

time (eight to eighteen years) which was necessary to attain a doctor's diploma. The "old fogys" talked with lamentations of the young gentlemen who, after the model of the apostles, did not desire the dignity of a magister. The first letter was devoted to the mockery of the magistership, the magister meal (*prandium magistrale*) with its learned investigations, as to whether it is correct to say magister nostrandus or magistrandus, and questions whether the learned man who is a member of ten universities had to be described by the singular *membrum* or the plural *membra,* and doubts whether the word magister was derived from *magis* and *ter,* (since the teacher certainly had to know three times as much as his pupil), or from *magis* and *terreo* because the former had to inspire the latter with terror through his authority.

This sarcasm of the more matured, who had already achieved a certain finish in their studies, was by no means the only sign of the opposition of the academic youth to their antagonists. Another proof was the open admission of the new studies, which were pursued outside the faculties proper, as shown in the matriculation books, by expressions like *ad studium humanitatis juravit,*—a phrase which sounds like an open protest against the former exclusion of all that was not according to faculties.

The academical youth, however, had the privilege at all times, of enjoying the pleasures of life besides

IMPERATOR
DIVVS MAXI
PIVS FELIX
CAESAR
MILIANVS
AVGVSTVS·
Der Teur Fürst Kayser Maximilianus ist auff den xij tag des Jenners seins alters im
lix Jar seligklich von dyser Zeyt geschaiden Anno domini 1519

the seriousness of study. In fact, the laws were rigidly bent upon drawing sharp lines of restriction to the enjoyments, but they were just and because of these very restrictions they shared the fate of other laws in being quickly transgressed. For instance, it was prescribed in Tuebingen that the students, who lived together in a bursen under supervision, should attend diligently to sermons and lectures, keep private instructors, etc. On the other hand, they were prohibited from using verbal and bodily insults, from noise on the street during the night, from drinking to excess, and from wearing uncommon or unseemly clothes. All these rules were sinned against. Industrious application was so slight that the authorities frequently had to summon the parents to take the young people from the university; drinking of immense quantities went on, and on one occasion it was verified that four students had drunk thirty measures of wine. Instead of plain clothes, the most costly materials were chosen, in which the bourgeois students strutted about like warriors or noblemen, or vexed the authorities by odd mummeries, or wore plain long bathing cloaks, or even less garb. And instead of the demanded quiet, the most uproarious racket prevailed by day and by night, from which the three eternal enemies of the students,—the night watchman, *pudel* or pedell, (university servant), the *factotum,* and the *philistine* (citizen), particularly

had to suffer. The tribulations to which the officers belonging to the first two classes were exposed often grew so bad that, whenever there was a vacancy, it was hard to find anyone who would accept the dangerous office. The quarrels with the citizens in the town, and the inhabitants of the surrounding villages, went so far that vicious battles were fought, and peace negotiations were submitted and concluded through the medium of the authorities. Sometimes the citizens were given two buckets of wine because of the worriment they had endured.

An attractive picture of the students' frolics after the times of Humanism, which were not without an influence on the brutality in the following decades, was the favorite game of the prodigal son and the student comedies, during the whole of the sixteenth century. In the former play, mostly in German, and induced by the biblical parable, a mother's pampered son, who was frequently one of the students, quits his father's home and through riotous living, squanders his fortune in lewd company, and partly driven by hunger, partly by contrition, returns and is joyfully welcomed as the lost one who has been found again. The students were often leaders or participants in the gayeties of inns, through which the lost one forfeited health, fortune and honor.

In these plays the whole academical life was treated, and the various types of students were repre-

sented: the conscientious youth, who attended all lectures, the fighting bully who ever ready to pick a quarrel, wounds his companion, and gets into conflict with the police, when the otherwise unfriendly or hostile colleagues are on his side; the public house hero and sworn enemy of wedded life who, when full of drink, does not spurn fornication; and finally the ideal, dreaming youth who chases after every apron, and takes the simpering innkeeper's daughter for his wife, less for the sake of real love than prompted by a feeling of decorum after the violent resistance of both parents has been overcome.

Among the doings of the student life, one of the most brutal, but at the same time most characteristic was the solemn initiation of the newcomer, the freshman, the *depositio* of the *beanus*. Against such a *beanus* everything seemed to be allowed, for he counted, as one tried to translate his name in comical, ungrammatically worded explanation, as a *bestia amata nusquam,* or as a *bestia equalis asino nihil vere sciens,* or as one said, *beanus est animal nesciens vitam studiosorum.* The initiation was connected with maltreatment and tortures of shocking kinds, which were meant to remove the bad juices from the novice, to knock off his freshman's horns, and to make him eligible for admission to the community of the students. The comedies mentioned here are since the year 1550, but the whole

manner of conception belonged to the Humanist period. In a collection of poems for the Krakauer students, but also much used in Germany, by Laurentius Corvinus from the year 1504, are found verses *de beano,* in which is said: "His eyes make him like the wolf, his hair the he-goat, his long ears the donkey, such a being is not worthy of a human habitation, he must dwell in a cave like the wild boar."

Despite this and similar brutalities, which can hardly be separated from the use of academical freedom, and appear as a natural compensation for the restraint to which the young people were subjected in the bursen, one must not think of the student's life in those days as wholly rough and brutalized. There were harmless frolics, refreshing joy of life, and the overflowing youthful spirits showed themselves less in vicious excesses than in loud carousings. For the torture which it had to suffer through Latin, youth avenged itself by drinking songs, in which Latin and German verses were mixed in a comical fashion. One of these, communicated to us by Fischart, but surely a product of former times, may find a place here, all the more since it belongs in this connection through its mention of the *bursa* (bursch, sophomore):

Wolauf, ihr brueder allzumal
quos sitis vexat plurima,
ich weiss ein wirt, klug ueberal
quod vina spectat optima.

Sein wein mischt er nicht mit dem saft
e puteo qui sumitur
ein jeder bleibt in seiner kraft
e botris ut exprimitur.

Herr wirt bringt uns ein guten wein
in cella qod est optimum.
Die brueder wollen froehlich sein
ad noctis usque terminum.

Wer greinen oder murren will
ut canes decet rabidos,
der mag wol bleiben aus dem spil
ad porcos eat sordidos.

Frisch auf, der bursch will froelich sein
levate sursum pocula
Gott gesegn uns den und andern wein,
in sempiterna secula.

Drinking and singing have always seemed the natural accompaniments of study. The students applied themselves hard. The studies of the artist faculty,—for only this one comes into consideration here,—consisted mainly of lectures, exercises and disputations. The former were partly lectures in the order of the day and partly lectures extraordinary, and were held concurrently. It appears that they were given by the paid and really appointed teachers; analogous to our private lectures and beginning with the commencement of the *semester*. The disputations, fixed for the stragglers or examinates, began only in the middle of the semester, not too long before its termination, and were held by the magisters, who might be compared to our *privatissimis* and *examen* courses.

The exercises and disputations were held by the magisters, who had to appear in full garb, for three hours once a week. An honorarium was paid for lectures and exercises. The material was the same, both for lectures and for exercises, except grammar, which was selected according to the preparatory studies of the pupil, and when selected was taught both after Alexander and Donat, that is, after antiquated and modern methods. Logic, dialectic, rhetoric,—partly after Aristotle, and of course in the medieval Latin translations, and partly after the miserable logical manuals,—was muddled together from the most wretched auxiliary handbooks of the so-called Petrus Hispanus. Thus again were shown the harmful mixup of the original with the derivations, the correct and the wrong. Furthermore, there were physics and astronomy, and for the magister aspirants were added ethics, psychology, metaphysics and geometry, including arithmetic and music *si legantur*.

The latter addition was to be found in the plan of instruction itself, and proved either that there were not sufficient teachers, or that the subjects mentioned were not considered obligatory, but optional. The exercises distinguished themselves from the lectures only by their kind. In the lectures, the teacher taught and interpreted, the latter more than the former, as every lecture joined itself to a certain precept in such a manner that it rendered the

connected discourse dispensable, sometimes even impossible. In the exercises, the pupils did the work themselves. However, there can neither be any question of the free and independent labor of the pupil, nor of an effective activity of the teacher, which latter freed itself from the shackles of ancient times, for it was accurately prescribed in these disputations how many sentences, questions and objections were allowed to be made, and the answers were likewise already formulated, which would mean that the most perfect special training for the examen was not only permitted but ordered. The future baccalaureate had to attend sixty of such disputations, some with magisters and some with elder baccalaureates, as an active or passive participant acording to the discretion of the head teacher, and thirty other future magisters. One cannot speak of the medieval universities, whose appearance and character were reformed by Humanism, without recalling the great controversy between nominalism and realism, which signified for the Middle Ages something similar to the quarrel between Humanism and scholasticism in the modern period. We say something similar, for the former opponents described themselves, or were described by others, as the modern and the ancient, so that in one and the same university it sometimes came to the discrimination of a *via antiqua* and *via moderna*. Yet it was not wholly similar, because Humanism and

scholasticism are two opposed tendencies, while nominalism and realism are two distinctly different modes of contemplation within a tendency to scholasticism.

Realism is that mode of contemplating the world which believes in the reality of the general all, sees the actual and existing things only in the species and kind, and deems the individuals simply passing entities and specializations of their kind. On the other hand, nominalism deems only the individual objects as real, but regards the generalities as mere notions and abstractions which exist only in our mind. Of these intuitive perceptions realism was the older one which, therefore, regarded the younger as a transgressing intruder and persecuted it. This hostile action sometimes found support from the public forces; for instance, in Paris where, in 1473, the books of the nominalists were put in chains.

In spite of this persecution, nominalism prospered and grew strong, simply because it declared for the new principle of research, that is, the general was there only as an abstraction from experience, the direct real, and however visible had to be investigated in its peculiar properties and afterwards explained. This could not be done except through the recognition of many single entities or objects, and the venture made to progress to the understanding of the universally general. Despite this position of nominalism in relation to science, it rarely or

never became the promoter of Humanistic studies. On the contrary, several leading representatives of the latter had previously sworn by realism, and several strongholds of nominalism in which the votaries of enlightenment should have found a safe asylum became the refuges of the obscurants.

The above-mentioned arrangement of the studies, which most likely would have been found in all the universities, was that of the University of Basel. The controversy between nominalism and realism was perhaps nowhere else conducted more energetically than here, and therefore, it may take the first place among those which we are describing, though so far as foundation is concerned it was one of the most recent ones. Also because Basel, after it had already admitted many to the ranks of the university denizens without fee, because they had been "poets and orators," had afforded many of the itinerant Humanists temporary abode and occasional instruction in perhaps the first German high school, which in 1474, appointed a teacher in the person of Joh. Matthias von Gengenbach. He had to lecture daily for an hour upon the free arts and poetry, a fact which meant that it afforded Humanism an official recognition.

Basel was founded in the year 1460, under a bull of sanction by the Humanistic Pope Pius II, and with a certain dependence upon Italy, which was shown in the appointment of eminent Italian pro-

fessors. It was established with a marked consideration for the juristic faculty, to which was conceded an equal number of places with the three remaining faculties together. As, however, the expected attendance was not realized, a patronage which was anticipated as a result of the renowned foreign teachers and as the consequence of the partiality to the chiefly practical studies, the preference for expensive foreign instructors was given up, and extended to the remaining faculties at home. In reality, Basel was not indebted to foreign jurists but to home Humanists for its prosperity. Its significance lay in the fact that it was a useful tool in the struggle of the modern against the old.

Basel's brilliant star for a long time was Joh. Heynlin a Lapide, (von Stein, so called after his birthplace, 1425-96), the head of realism, however not holding himself aloof from Humanism.

Belonging to the university, or at least to the town of Basel at first, in 1464 and 1465, then from 1474 until 1478, and finally from 1487 until his death, Heynlin contributed extraordinarily to its prosperity. During his last years of life he retired, like many men of that generation, into a monastery (the chapel convent of Basel), without finding the soothing quiet which he coveted, for he was tormented by his prior without consideration for his age and standing; but he attained rest for his mind and soul. When they who in the past had ex-

perienced the effect of his work, and credited him with the strength still further to exercise such influence, insinuated the desire for him to continue his public activity, he answered: "Wenn er zwo Seelen hette, wellte er gnug die eine an gut Gesellen gewagt han," (if he would have possessed two souls, he should venture with the one into the company of convivial fellows).

Heynlin had formerly wrought in Basel as a preacher with great success, and everywhere duty led him, he was active in improving morals, in the revival of old church customs, and in advocating learning. He was above all a philosopher, and defended, decades after the genuine Plato had triumphed over the genuine Aristotle in Italy, the counterfeit Aristotle and the false idealism based upon the sayings of Plato. As a theologian he gave an enthusiastic veneration to the Holy Virgin Mary. However, he believed this veneration could be manifested in a better way by allowing her own birth to be in accordance with natural laws, in order to make that of the son of the Virgin appear all the more miraculous and divine. He did not allow himself to be moved from this conviction by saints who fixed upon an opposite view, because, he said in his rather hair-splitting conclusion, "However great the number of doctors divine, who are cited for the opposite teaching may be, they had never gathered together to decide the question, and therefore could

not have settled it in an authentic way." He was so inspired by the truth of his view, that he did not let this subterfuge suffice, but even reproached the saints themselves with an error. He made the bold assertion: "If they would be alive now, they would either revoke their assumption, or they never were saints." Through such utterances Heynlin von Stein did not by any means acquire for himself a place among the reformers, but he had equally just claim to the honorable or sarcastic name of a makulist as Sebastian Brant. And with the latter and his colleagues the Basel theologian was in close connection. He was to them not precisely a coördinated comrade, but venerable as a promoter and patron of Humanism.

Johannes Amerbach (1444-1514), the famous book-printer, described himself as a pupil of Heynlin von Stein who, with his learned colleague Joh. Froben, also favored the new tendency, became a friend and adviser, promoter and supporter of Humanism and the Humanists. Of Humanism, because their presses manifolded the ancient and modern writings, the many-volumed editions of the Bible and the Church fathers, and little Humanistic pamphlets; and of the Humanists, because they appointed these as learned collaborators and correctors in their extensive printing establishments. They assisted the younger ones thereby over the otherwise profitless period of their preparation, and

the older generation by affording them an independent, if arduous position useful to the sciences. More prominent, however, than the father, Joh. Amerbach, became his three sons, Basilius, Bruno and Bonifacius, who were excellently educated and honorably justified their superior training.

Really conspicuous great work was done only by the youngest of the three,—Bonifacius, (born 1495, died 1562), an eminent jurist, since 1525 a professor in Basel, who had such a widespread reputation among the contemporaries that he was asked for his expert opinion by foreign sovereign princes; for instance, the Duke Christoph von Wirtemberg, who wished to plan and work out his new laws. Through his all-embracing activity, Bonifacius realized the ambition of his ancestors to make Basel a center of juristic study.

However, Amerbach was not a one-sided jurist. He impressed upon his son, who likewise studied law, the necessity of a philosophical education, and kindled in the youth the liking for Greek which long before he had consummated in himself; that is, the reconciliation of the juristic and Humanistic tendencies, which antagonized one another so often and so violently.

Such a harmony was the work of Erasmus, the adviser and old-time friend of the Amerbach family of long standing. Through Erasmus, Amerbach's attitude toward the Reformation was decided. Like

his master he assumed a reserved position, and influenced the halting resolutions of the Basel council by his weighty advice. He was also friendly with Holbein, who painted his picture and made many drawings of him which were preserved by Amerbach. His house was, like that of Pirckheimer, a center for professors and artists, a place of collections of objects of literature and art. Even now these form a splendid treasure in the Basel libraries and museums. His voluminous files, filled with numerous letters of German learned men who turned to the wealthy and educated patron, are extremely valuable, and contain some still unused material of the history of Humanism and the Reformation.

The most noted among the younger Basel Humanists was undisputably Henricus Glareanus, or Heinrich Loriti from Glarus (1488-1563), who twice lived in Basel for several years (1514-17, 1522-29) and taught there, though he was not always in harmony with the other members of the university. He roused resentment of many by the establishment of his own bursa, in which he gathered his countrymen. He thought himself justified in being angry with the official representatives of the university because they conceded to him only the privileges of an ordinary magister, withholding special prerogatives, to which he laid claim as a "poet laureate." The university lords avenged

themselves by tearing his posters from the church doors, and forbade him holding certain lectures. He scoffed at them and once rode a donkey into the auditorium, as he otherwise "had no place to sit down."

In the end he conquered, less by his personal than through his objective claims. The logical disputations were abolished and a professorship of history was instituted, the former an indication of the relinquishment of the old scholastic method, the latter a concession to Humanism. During his first sojourn in Basel he met Erasmus. The relation between the two men wavered between enthusiastic attachment and lukewarm indifference, and once was aggravated into spiteful aversion, when the Glarean accused Erasmus of plagiarism by the publication of his communications about the correct pronunciation of Greek. Erasmus in his will did not bequeath to Glarean even the smallest gift. This vacillation was explained by the incompatibility of the two men, the vanity of Erasmus, which could not tolerate either contradiction or independence in others, and the Glarean's rash and irascible nature. Notwithstanding all this, the latter's mental tendency was later controlled absolutely and continuously by Erasmus. Through him he was guided to a biased cultivation of Humanistic studies, and to an antipathy against the reform tendencies, which endangered the development of the sciences and called

the professor from his restful study to battle with quarrelsome people.

He manifested his aversion by sarcasm against the innovators; by breaking off all friendly relations even with intimate companions of long years; by the cultivation of studies by lectures and private instruction, which he particularly liked to give his countrymen, by Latin letters and poems, his edition of Latin and Greek authors, and his glossary to the same; and especially by his critical works, devoted to Livius, which were recognized by later editors as usable, and were thus employed.

Glarean's Humanistic sentiment and activity differed from those of the colleagues in three respects: 1. by his specifically Swiss patriotism; 2. by his scientific treatment of geography; and 3. by his cultivation of music. In opposition to the typically German patriotism of the other Humanists, Glarean could not deny the Swiss even in his panegyric of Maximilian (on the occasion of the stay of the Emperor in Cologne, 1512), but congratulated the kaiser upon his alliance with the Swiss, which was concluded at that time. While the former were wont to dream of an aggrandizement of Germany, he once hoped that the right bank of the Rhine and the Black Forest would fall to Switzerland. Already, in the year 1510, he began an epos about one of the greatest triumphs of the Swiss—the victory at Naefels—but he never finished his poem.

His patriotism made him a geographer. At first (1515), he attempted a description of Switzerland, after the model of Strabo, to which was added a panegyric of the country, with an occasional mention of the *sagitta* of Giulielmus, (Tell's arrow), the hero who was once compared with Brutus. Then (1521) he wrote his book of geography (*de geographia liber unus*), from which Switzerland was excluded because of the previous volume. The greater part of the latter was mathematical geography, with the smaller part devoted to a description of Europe, Asia and Africa. These works, owing to the hazy knowledge of the times, possessed comparatively little value. The closing chapter *de regionibus extra Ptolemæum,* in which one would expect an account of the new discoveries, disappointed these expectations absolutely. America was mentioned only with one word. The question whether in some verses of Virgil (Aeneid, book 6) these countries were alluded to, seemed to interest the learned geographer, who could never deny his nature as a philologist.

Glarean's greatest work was his musical creation *Dodekachordon,* (Basel, 1547), a stately folio, which was much referred to by his contemporaries as well as the later generation; it was translated and many times represented in extracts. Thirty years before, he had written an "Introduction into Music," and it now appeared with a thorough re-

vision, in which he tried to combat particularly the prevailing opinion that there are only eight keys, and to prove the existence of twelve, which corresponded to the arrangement of the old Greek music. Through this tendency of connecting the modern with the old, the work became a typical Humanistic product. It had great value for the musical history of that time in its collection of the composition proofs of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Among them were included a few compositions of Glarean. Music, by the way, was a sacred art to the author. Only the serious devotional song was patronized, while the light, frivolous one was condemned.

In comparison with the many average leaders of the Humanistic epoch, Glarean was remarkable through his strong personality. He was violent, impetuous, full of wit, odd moods and jokes, which pleased the contemporaries so much that they were not only repeated but appeared in a printed collection. He was ready to fight, and was expert in the art. In spite of his great education he was superstitious; with his famous and extensive erudition, he was modest. In his contempt for the German language, in which he did not stand alone, he surpassed the other critics, for few like him, deemed it fit only to furnish opprobrious epithets. He once said of Tiberius: "One could hardly find a Latin description for him, (*quod vix latine dixeris*) but could well

call him in German, *ein abgefeimter, chrloser, znichtiger Bocsewicht,"* (a dyed-in-the-wool, dishonorable, good-for-nothing villain).

Tuebingen followed Basel, whither Heynlin von Stein had wended his way and where, almost a century later, Bonifacius Amerbach sent his son Basilius to study.

A so-called comedy, (*de optimo studio scholasticorum*), was a total failure as a dramatic work, but merits consideration for its expression of the sentiments of a powerful party. A peasant appears who would like to let his son study. This son has already squeezed the school benches twelve years. His Ulmer master is ridiculed as Jakobutius Schnaltzhaff, and has heard of nothing except the doctrinale and its commentaries, but now the young man goes to a university. There he is warned against the art of poetry by a despiser of it,—we know what poetry meant in those days,—but he scorns the warning and presently the two opponents are in the midst of a quarrel, the favorite controversy of that period, about the respective merits of poetry and theology. The student points out all the obscene passages and tales in the Bible, in order to ward off the reproach of indecency in poetry, and concludes with the enthusiastic praise of his choice: " The rest of the things do not belong to all times, ages and places; the poetical studies, how-

ever, elevate youth, please old age, enhance happiness, afford protection and comfort in misfortune; they are faithful comrades at home and dear companions on the road." The place where our valiant student imbibed these spiritedly defended studies was Tuebingen, and the author of the comedy, who may also have felt himself to be the teacher of that youth, was Heinrich Bebel. The University of Tuebingen was founded in the time of Humanism. The papal bull, issued by the terrible Sixtus IV, bore the date of the 9th of November, 1476, and the founder was Count Eberhard. The interior arrangement, however, did not show any essential difference when compared with the former periods. Although the sovereign lord was the founder, he was not the one who maintained it. The cost of its upkeep was borne by clerical institutions, that is, through the incorporation of five parish churches and eight prebends of the canon chapter Sindelfingen. Nor could there be any charge of favoritism toward Humanism. The artist faculty, to which the Humanists belonged, was the lowest as regards standing and salaries paid to the various teachers. It seemed like a stepping stone to higher faculties. The influence of Humanism showed itself preferably among the artists, two of whom may be mentioned, one as representing the mixup of the old and new school, and the other as personifying the victory of the latter.

Konrad Summenhart (abt. 1450-1501) was the representative of the elder party. He was not a Ciceronian, poet, popular philosopher nor elegant author, but was ponderous in sense and word. But he was what signified more, an independent thinker. From this viewpoint he was also a philosopher and theologian, a physicist and national economist. As a philosopher he stood on the grounds of the old method of teaching. Aristotle, not he whom the Humanists knew from their studies of the original, but the one known through the muddled translations of the Middle Ages, was his master. The essence of school authority was unharmed. As a theologian, he advised the study of the Bible.

Summenhart was peaceloving and wished to restrain his colleagues from all wrangling. He is said once to have exclaimed: "Who liberates me, unhappy one, from the controversial theology?" He realized the necessity of a Church reform of head and members, and spiritedly declared his desire for such. He distinguished very clearly between the papal authority, which had been derived from the evangelistic precept, and the power that had sprung up and increased against it, and he loudly deplored the secularization and confusion of the Church, caused by the enhancement of the pope's authority.

Though he was timid and cautious enough to add to all criticisms of the prevailing church system, for

instance the tithe, that he did not venture to presume upon anything in opposition to the orthodox faith, he attacked the monks and condemned their luxury, their greed for private possessions, their ignorance, and their constant absorption in worldly business. As a physicist he was so credulous that he could not turn from the silliest fairy tales. To illustrate, he considered that the appearance of a comet was an infallible portent of four things: heat, wind, war and the death of sovereign rulers.

However, in another respect he was not superstitious, and he kept aloof from the alleged science of astrology and all frauds connected with it, but as an observer of nature, or better still, as an adherent to and promoter of Aristotle's scholastic teachings, he gave the first impulse to the theory of evolution, "according to which the higher organized formations emerged from the lower organized ones, and the latter from the inorganic ones, under the effect of meteoric and sidereal influences."

Finally, as a national economist Summenhart did not promulgate any reformatory ideas, but faithfully reproduced the opinions of his contemporaries. He spoke with enthusiasm of the community of possession among men during the paradisal period on earth, but deemed such a community irretrievably lost through the corruption of mankind which had been rife since then. He talked concerning usury and the taking of interest in a manner which he,

partly adopting the opinions of his contemporaries and partly following his own, distinguished between the usurious intention, that is, the advantage of the momentary need of one's fellow, and the aspiration of others for display of pomp or the extension of business. He dealt with luxury, incidentally giving an interesting list of the trinkets and gewgaws worn by men and women. While he did not forbid such vain display, he unmistakably condemned it. All these and many other views were cited in long winded treatises, each lacking any ornamental turn, but the honest industry of the researcher compensated for this want of form.

In contrast to him, Bebel was the enthusiastic priest of the cult of form-beauty.

Heinrich Bebel (born 1472, died 1518) was the son of poor farmers, and preserved throughout his life an attachment for the people from whom he sprang. He was at ease when he mixed with peasants, and betrayed in his literary work, although he employed the Latin idiom exclusively therein, a fondness for folk songs and the gathering of proverbs, which he published in Latin.

Beginning in 1497, he was a teacher at the Tuebingen University, indomitably toiling for a large number of pupils, who were deeply attached to their master. He had his prejudices and was a fanatical champion of the classics. This led him to caution his students against Ennius, in his lists of models

for Latin prose and poetry. Ennius was anti-classic, and opposed to Apollinaris and his contemporaries. The Christian poets, who were post-classic, condemned the medieval authors, and Bebel admitted that he would follow, among the recent ones, Petrarch, Filelfo, Mantovano, Paormita and Carlo Aretino, but only when they emulated the ancient, or heeded the rules of the Latins and Greeks. He disapproved absolutely of Enea Silvio. The impartiality which he showed to his Italian colleagues and toward his predecessors, he also displayed for the Germans, of whom he asserted that hitherto not one had restored eloquence to its old purity,—an assumption for which he was blamed by many, who claimed the merit of such restoration to themselves.

In order to guide the pupils in this labyrinth of the Latin language, he compiled for their use a list of the best phrases. These were published in order to enable the students to write verses and letters, the first requirement for a young Humanist, with guide-books of metrification, epistolography, and edited comments of later authors. Several writers dealt with his lectures, and he did not fail to praise science, in his view the intimate knowledge of Latin,—in controversial writings, little poems, letters and speeches.

Bebel was a quarrel-loving man, but seldom placed his person at the fore in his fights, while he strenu-

ously endeavored to serve the cause, which with him was always Humanism. Its opponents,—on the one hand, the Germans without a Fatherland, and the foreigners hostile to Germany, and on the other hand, the religious-proud theologists and the haters of sciences,—were his enemies. Against the former he, the patriot who knew nothing higher than his own Germany and his emperor and therefore praised in verse many events of Maximilian's reign, produced two notable writings. The *Autochtonenthum* of the Germans, with which the one called *Praise, Age, Deeds of the Germans* was connected, belonged to that class of historical works of the Fatherland which, if not downright falsifications, must be termed distortions of the truth. They contended for the independence of the Germans from the Romans, for the influence of the Germans upon the Roman Empire, the close connection of the former with their native country, their true mother's soil, and denied their origin from another people, like the Trojans, but claimed that the origin of not only the Franks and the Burgundians, but even the Normans and Scots, was from the *Germans!*

In the other book, Bebel combated an opinion of the Venetian Leonardo Giustiniani that the name Imperator, with which the German emperors adorned themselves, did not designate the highest dignity of state in the true classical language, and that a coronation of an emperor had not occurred

with the Roman rulers. Bebel, in this fight, was less exasperated perhaps by the essential difference than by the derogative description, "barbarians," which the opponent had used against the Germans. He fought harder when inspired by patriotic wrath, than when spurred by philological and historical reasons.

The real cause of Bebel's fight against the theologians was their aversion to the new studies, since their love affairs alone could not induce him, the wine drinking sensualist, to war against them. But it is a fact that in his "Triumph of Love" (*triumphus veneris*) he assumed that he was only a defender of chastity against the atrocious desires of the priests.

In this work, written in well constructed Latin hexameters, he allows the goddess of love to act as the ruler to whom all men, regardless of age and standing, are subject. To prove this sovereignty, especially since the queen seemed to doubt her powers, all her listeners were brought before her,—at first the animals, then the men, with the clergy in the front ranks, beginning with the pope and going down through the whole monastic clergy to the plain monks and nuns; then the worldly people, starting with the king and descending to the mercenaries (foot-soldiers). In the last place, but not in the least number, were gathered the women.

All professed to be true votaries of Venus, even

pressing forward to gain the first places in her following. But the women were awarded to the friars and every effort to crowd them out was futile. Then Virtue set out to mobilize her devotees against the army of Venus, but succeeded only in gathering around her a small number of the faithful, who dispersed at the first clash with the hostile crowd and left the field to the triumphant adherents of Venus.

Partly hostile to the clergy was Bebel's best known book, the *Facetæ* or *Geschwennck*. No other social or professional class was attacked as often as the clerical. He said of them that they were not only immoral, but proud of it; were crassly ignorant, avaricious and pleasure seeking. He scornfully condemned their impudence in telling the people silly tales, and included with such tales the accounts of marvelous events, juggling with supposed relics, insistence upon the good offices of the saints, absolution and the power of good works. He seemed even to touch the general faith in resurrection. Besides this, he scourged the credulity of the lower classes, the dishonesty of some trades people, especially the millers, all those who were said to have a deep-rooted aversion to puzzle books, satires and songs. He scoffed at the Jews; at the arrogance of the nobility; at the mercenaries (foot-soldiers), but not without a sympathy for their smart, gay manner, which made them favorites even with those whom they

caused to suffer; at the sovereign princes, "who forbade swearing by cursing it terribly"; but, above all, at the immorality of men and women. In doing the latter, he often forgot his rôle as a moral judge, which was in reality only an artificially acquired sentiment, and showed himself more in keeping with his real nature, as a raconteur of lascivious stories.

These he learned in the school of Poggio, from whose *Facetiousnesses* he borrowed several things. However, he was inferior to his master, not only because of the fact that he did not, like the former, talk exclusively of sexual things, but that he invented German instead of Italian stories, and many that had never occurred anywhere. Furthermore, he often blended fairy tales and old folks' stories in his comical anecdotes.

The quarrel between the two schools, which opposed one another during the whole time of Humanism, was bitter, and each division was spurred by the wish to destroy the other. Nowhere was this burning hostility shown more strikingly than in Cologne, in the persons of Ortuin Gratius and Hermann von Busch.

The University of Cologne belongs to the first period of the founding of high schools opposite Basel and Tuebingen. In 1389, a general high institution of teaching was called into being, after the papal bull had been obtained the year previous, under the auspices of the clerical authorities and

the town-council. The teachers were mostly Cologne canons, and the expenses for maintenance came from clerical chapters. It was not a new foundation proper, but a fusion of the single, mostly theologic institutions which, in the exterior and interior, were modeled after the Paris University, already in existence. It was here that the three great teachers of scholasticism,—Albertus Magnus, Thomas von Aquino and Duns Scotus,—had been active, and from here the designations of Thomists and Scotists were spread alternately as names of honor or of opprobrium.

In consequence of this manner of founding, Cologne preserved its preponderating theological character. It claimed, furthermore, by virtue of its close connection with the Parisian mother institution, a position of authority in Germany, and saw with displeasure other institutions springing up beside it who would not acknowledge such a claim, but demanded full equality for themselves. A far greater mortification was experienced by the Cologne theologians through the establishment of a Humanistic school in their own university,—a school which, in open breach with the Cologne tendencies, and hence with the medieval traditions as a whole, secured the victory for poetry in the fight against theology.

Hermann von Busch (Pasiphilus, as he liked to call himself, perhaps wishing to substitute this name

for the ponderous "Westphalus," or to indicate that he was a favorite of all) was born in 1468 and died in 1534. He was a knight and a poet who seldom or never allowed the chivalry in his nature to come to the surface, and he was the classic of German Humanism. A pupil of Rudolf Agrikola, and a protégé of Rudolf von Langen, but at the same time a disciple of Italian culture, he had to struggle a long while before he overcame the pious, easy anti-humanism tendency of the former, and struck the medium between the latter and Italian frivolity.

This effort was a hard one for him, in view of the great pliability of his nature. As long as he yielded to the typical Humanistic longing to wander and roamed through the various parts of Germany, he found many enthusiastic companions in the universities and commercial towns, and few weak opponents. He walked with apparent firmness down the Humanistic course, but when left alone in Cologne, or when in league with only a few, and he had to fight many, he became weak.

In the beginning, von Busch preserved his opinions. After he had published a panegyric upon the town and the university, as was his custom, he made a speech against the theologians, in which he denounced as unworthy their contempt for the recognition of the Holy Scriptures, for spiritual education as a whole, and their strife for riches. He described as truly beautiful and dignified his

outwardly modest but, through the spiritual treasures gathered by him and his pupils, brilliant life. Still more than by this speech, which produced little effect because of its exaggerated contrasts, he offended the opposing party by his edition of the grammar of Donat, and the repeatedly expressed opinion that grammatical studies were worthy to be cultivated not only by boys, but by adults, provided it was done scientifically and not in a barbaric and loose manner. Now that he had exasperated his opponents by such remarks, and had drawn the retort from them, the poet should have kept his immature wisdom to himself, but instead of doing so, he not only omitted the criticised passage from the next edition of his book, but gave place to a poem of the leader of his antagonists, Ortuin Gratius, and later added several complimentary verses to some works of the Cologne men, which could not agree with his real sentiments. Almost too late for his reputation, he saw the unworthiness of such a course, and turning again to his old colleagues remained a vigorous promulgator of Humanistic principles. While his associates contented themselves with an occasional expression of their views, Busch thought himself under obligation, in order to make amends for his temporary falling away, to fuse the views and opinions of his party into a system.

This he did in his *Vallum humanitatis*. That he

rated it as didactic writing, destined to convert those of a different faith, and to support partisans, was shown by its form. At the head of each of the eight books was a thesis, to be proven by the subsequent historical reports and logical arguments. But the proof, which had to be given in the whole work, was that the Humanistic studies were not by any means detrimental for the youth, and particularly not to those young men who intended to devote themselves to theology; on the contrary, they afforded a powerful stimulus for the education of the mind and heart, a significance that had always been recognized; and that consequently the occupation with those studies could be called neither a crime nor an error. In order to establish the demonstration of this quality and the necessity of such study, he availed himself of the aid of history and the Bible, and the writings of Church fathers. From the former he showed in what veneration poetry and oratory had been held by all nations of ancient times, and with what high esteem they were regarded in Italy during the fifteenth century. Besides the laity, he cited the clergy, friends of education, Popes Nikolaus V, and Leo X, and many other representatives of the Renaissance. He proved from them that the prophets before, and the holy men after, the Christian period, had employed sublime poetry or expressive prose on festive occasions, in order to produce a greater effect, and that the

Church-fathers strongly recommended the study of the ancient authors. The passages which appeared to militate against them had their reason in special causes, such as momentary strong excitement against the heathen, etc.

On the whole, poetry, not in the then accepted sense, or as studies of early times, but in the real significance of the art, was ranked higher than prose, for did not Moses and Jeremiah, Job and Solomon use it? In the most exalted moments, the poetical spell descended upon the inspired. The work was by no means a simple declamation, as were many similar writings, but an absolutely scientific controversy. By virtue of the quoted passages of old and of recent authors, which constituted a major part of the whole volume, it was a well-filled arsenal from which his colleagues could draw the weapons to repel the attacks of their adversaries.

A totally different picture was offered by Busch's opponent, Ortuin Gratius (1491-1545), leader for the time of the anti-Reuchlin, hence anti-Humanistic, party, but none the less abounding with Humanistic inclinations, whose adherents praised him as a brilliant and distinguished poet.

Instead of remaining an insignificant light among the Humanists, Gratius preferred to be a great luminary to their opponents. It is hard to say whether he was prompted to this step through vanity, and by denial of his real inner conviction,

or by a genuine change of his opinion. His later activity made his honesty somewhat questionable. The Humanists generally regarded him as a renegade and pelted him, the appointed Latinist of the enemies, with derision and sarcasm, against which he defended himself with little wit and great coarseness. However, if one wishes to understand his mental peculiarities, it is necessary not only to regard the vilifications which were hurled against him, and his retaliation, one must take into consideration his other works, his speeches on various subjects, (*Orationes quodlibeticæ,* 1508) and his collection of historical writings (*Fasciculus rerum expetendarum ac fugiendarum,* Cologne, 1535).

The former, nine in all,—perhaps after the group of Muses,—have the purpose of recommending the same number of arts and sciences, but they do not make the " very pleasant impression " upon us which perhaps they did upon some contemporaries, and which was promised in the title of the books. They were without depth, and as regards expression, coarse and bombastic.

But one would do wrong to condemn them as a scholastic product of the Humanistic creations of that period, for Gratius's speeches can maintain themselves against the others, as respects a zealous gathering of authorities in classical authors,—passages of the Greek, in Latin translation only,—in the hatred of the despisers of science, and in the praise

of philosophy, under which name he chose to include the sciences. Besides the seven free arts, which constituted the medieval education, he thought poetry necessary, the definition of which he gave according to Boccaccio. In grammar, he insisted upon a dignified method of expression, and recommended the writings of the modern grammarians, in contrast to the former customary barbaric instruction books. When he conceded the preference in philosophy to Albertus Magnus, over the great men of ancient times, he did not do so with a particular predilection, nor a reduction of the ancient period under the Middle Ages, but he referred as a basis for this preference to a passage in Heinrich Bebel's writings, which he highly praised. Nor can his second collection,—wrongly suspected by some to belong to another,—be described as anti-Humanistic. It opened with the treatise of Enea Silvio concerning the Basel congress, and contained in addition more than 60 smaller writings, which referred partly to the history and law of the German empire and the Church, and partly to the struggles between these two parties.

One soon sees, however, that the things "to be fled from" by the pious Catholics, were set forth far more strongly than those "to be aspired after." Besides the protest of Lorenzo Valla against the donation of Constantine, there were printed the articles of faith of the Waldensian and Wickliffe, Poggio's letter about the martyrdom of Hieronymus

von Prag, and the hundred protests of Germany against the papal chair. In these and many other writings were loud complaints over the discord and corruption of the Church, and a demand for the consummation of a reform.

The impression of such lamentations could not be destroyed and was scarcely weakened by the publishers, through the author's numerous marginal remarks and a rather long concluding elaboration. The work, on the contrary, served to strengthen the opponents of the Church and to confuse her friends. The volume, therefore, through its general attitude and certain remarks, affords good evidence that Gratius, towards the close of his life, became a different man. He praised Reuchlin, whom he had condemned, and copied a writing of Hutten in print which once he would have liked to burn.

It may be asserted of Arnold von Tungern, that he was no hypocrite, as some modern agitators called him, but he was a weakling, who could not shake off the opinions of those around him, even if he had wished to do so. He was shortsighted and recognized only the external in Humanism and the acceptance of a certain classicism of the language, but did not understand the internal, the union of spiritual and liberal ideas.

He and his fellows were not the only, nor the authoritative, representatives of the general university. In truth, they belonged in the first place

to one faculty,—the theological, but it was they who, through their constant, unseemly pushing, roused the belief in outsiders that their principles in Cologne were not merely the leading but the only ones and that, therefore, the description of the university in Cologne as the seat of the obscurants was justified. Such, however, was not the fact. In the Cologne matriculation were instances where students gave their study as humanitas, and that meant to the Humanists, who were in a more or less close connection with the university.

Of such Humanists there were three, less famed for their writings than for their activity as teachers, who were looked at askance by the leading personalities in Cologne. Rumors arose of the persecution which they had to suffer, in their time, from the Cologne men. One of these was Rhagius Æsticampianus, (properly Rack, from Sommerfeld, 1460-1520), the itinerant preacher of Humanism who got his stimulus from Italy, where he learned his fresh, aggressive tone. He was one of the few Humanists who threw himself unreservedly into the Reformation and gave it his lasting sympathy. In his wanderings, which led him from Basel to Krakau, from Freiburg to Frankfort,—he also came to Leipzig, whence he was really deported, and ended in Wittenberg,—he arrived at Cologne. There he presumably had Hutten as a pupil, and was inspired by the consciousness,—through his interpretation of

Latin classics,—that he had to fulfill a higher mission than that of handing the knowledge of a dead language to a living generation.

Another, Joh. Cæsarius (1460-1551), who spent a long life in penury and was neither capable nor inclined to make use of his many-sided knowledge for anything except to gain the most important life necessities, was a theologian, philologian, natural expert and physician, and the apostle of Greek, who spread the new message everywhere he went. The venerable man was called by the grateful juvenile members of the following generation, "our old father." That he really had to suffer from the Cologne men is evident from a consolatory letter addressed to him by Agrippa von Nettesheim (1520), or,—to speak with the writer of the letter, —a congratulating epistle, "for if the Cologne magister hate you, then it is a praise, to prosecute you is fame, to harm you is a gain." In this letter the blame was laid upon the Cologne men for having treacherously attacked Herman von Neuenaar with defamations. If Æsticampius and Cæsarius can be called the scientific martyrs of Humanism, then Neuenaar (1491-1530), was its popular fanatic. He was a highborn gentleman, holding an honorable position and possessing a respectable fortune. He did not have to roam through the land in order to teach others, but was visited by his fellows at his well-appointed home. He did not burden himself

with a heavy load of philological learning, but employed the light weapons of wit and satire; he raised his protest against the ignorance of the new generation, and only at intervals did he break out into a cry of indignation. His authorship was occasional, based upon the actual events of his mental life, and having direct connection with the Cologne complications. He was the herald in the battle, who gathers his comrades, praises the faithful, encourages the wavering by his bravery and persistence; and, through his fanatical resolution he was a constant irritation to his enemies and an unflinching guardian of his comrades.

By means of this very peculiarity, Neuenaar drew quite close to the Erfurters. It was at Erfurt, if anywhere, that the headquarters of the active Humanists were powerful, more through their work than through their numbers. For another reason the city could be connected with Cologne,—the origin of the former university was not unlike that of the latter. The council procured papal privileges for themselves, founded the university upon prebends of two collegiate churches, and opened the high school in 1392. University and town have stood in close, if not always friendly, relations to each other since then, because there was no other university town where the sons of the muses came into such significant touch with the "philistines"

as there, even to the extent that these fights were glorified by Humanistic poets.

The first development of the university was not essentially different from that of the other German high schools, and only showed the discrepancy that Humanism obtained a non-official representation there much earlier than in the majority of other places. This was through Peter Luder, in 1460, and the official one soon followed. It is noticeable that a segregation of the Humanists into two parties appeared,—a timid group, inclined to mediation with the members and the system of the former schools, and a positive, uncompromising party, ready to fight for the annihilation of the medieval teaching system, and the merciless derision of its adherents. What Heynlin von Stein was in Basel, and his fellows in Cologne and Tuebingen, Jodocus Trutfetter was in Erfurt, outshining even Konrad Mutian, the beacon light of Humanism.

Jodocus Trutfetter, from Eisenach (*Isenacensis,* doctor), the teacher of Luther (1460-1519) since 1476 in Erfurt, from 1506-10 in Wittenberg and since then in Erfurt again, was praised by Eoban Hesse as "the grand Herald of Divine qualities, brilliant amongst the orators like Phœbus amongst the stars." The celebrated man did not deserve so resplendent a fame. He was no shining spirit, nor did he create anything new, but he understood how to hand down to the coming generations, as a

EXITVS ACTA PROBAT QVI BENE FECIT HABET
QVID NON LIBITINA RESOLVIS
DVLCES RVPIS AMICICIAS
CVR MORS IA
GER ILLVS 4
AMOR 4
EPIGRA 8
ODAR 4
OPERA EOR
SEQVVTVR ILLO
D M S
FLETE PII VATES ET TVNDITE PECTORA PALMIS
VESTER ENIM HIC CELTIS FATA SVPREMA TVLIT
MORTVVS ILLE QVIDEM SED LONGV VIVVS IN EVVM
COLOQVITVR DOCTIS PER SVA SCRIPTA VIRIS
CHVN·CEL·PROVIENNE LAVREE CVSTOS E COLLATOR
HIC IN CHRIS QVIESCIT VIXIT AN·IXL·SAL·SESQVIMILL·
SVB DIVO MAXIMIL·AVGVST· ET VII
·H·B·

zealous author and conscientious teacher, the inherited treasures. He was a philosopher and a theologian. As a philosopher he wrote six works devoted to logic within three years. Among them were several lesser writings, and a folio of 68 sheets in which he excused himself for many omissions, also handbooks and volumes of instruction that were written for the youth of Erfurt. Later he issued a great work devoted to physics. In all these writings, he used and commented upon Aristotle and Petrus Hispanus almost exclusively, but did not fail to cite a long list of leaders, according to the custom of the day, among whom figured historians and poets, besides philosophers and theologians of both old and recent times. Trutfetter was a modern, that is, a nominalist, but free from the ambition of his contemporaries to labor for proselytes and to fight his opponents with violence. As a theologian, he was active in sermons and teachings but he did not write proper theological books, because he considered the scholastic instruction books the best preparation for the clergyman. More through the manner of his instruction than through the actual subject, he reached even the pupils who estranged themselves from his methods and regarded as useless the scholastic method of teaching as well as the scholastic subjects, and he kept up his intercourse with them.

He was really religious, a faithful venerator of

the relics, averse to worldly life, so that even his lay friends had to promise him that they would not marry, neither proselyting in religious nor philosophical matters, and ready to grant everybody the right to his opinion. Through such tolerance he preserved the love of the older people and made himself venerated by the younger generation, which even remained untroubled and serene when, certainly not following his own impulse and hardly with a light heart, Mutian acted against Reuchlin as a member of his faculty. So he was not wholly a Humanist, as such an action would indicate, but a researcher, who had a consciousness of the new intellectual current, who even, as one of his colleagues boasted of him, "moderated the coarseness of the old school language," who liked the doings of the youth around him, and who, as is proved by the many verses of the poets with which his works were embellished, retained their high esteem.

The real leader of youth, however, the adored head of the Erfurt community, and the admired as the elder of the new church, was Conrad Mutianus Rufus (born 1471; died 1526). More than any one of the German Humanists he reminds us of well known Italian personages in his attitude and way of thinking. If he had chosen to be a wealthy Florentine, and not a poor Thuringian canon, he would have resembled Niccolo Niccoli, even in outward appearance, as he resembled him inwardly; but he

had qualities which recall Lorenzo Valla or Codra Arceo,—teaching impulse and zeal for fight, aversion to causing a mania for derision, religious free-thinking, and enthusiasm for the antique.

Mutian acquired his education in Italy. Before going thither in 1493 he attended school in Deventer and the university at Erfurt. During his abode in Italy, which lasted ten years, the foundation of his all-embracing erudition was laid. He studied jurisprudence, obtained the doctor's degree in Bologna and spoke, therefore, from his own experience later when he warned against the acquisition of academic degrees. He cultivated Humanistic studies with zeal, impartially considering the views of the old authors, and felicitously combining thoroughness with elegance.

He turned also to theology, partly contemplating the moral deficiencies of the clergy and the quarrels of the religious societies, through which, in his opinion, the Church was as much endangered as through attacks from the outside. He was fond of the strange, religiously-philosophical school which Pico von Mirandolo had founded in Italy and which, during Mutian's Italian abode, Reuchlin tried to introduce at home.

From 1503 until his death he lived as canon in Gotha in common with his brothers in office, though he hated them because of their indolence and their antagonism toward education, but in intimate union

with the Erfurt students, who revered him, and not their university teacher, as their intellectual father. He preserved his friendship with them partly through short travels which he undertook to Erfurt, partly through the pilgrimages which wandering youths made to Gotha, but chiefly through a lively correspondence which he maintained with the pupils. This correspondence was perhaps the finest testimony of Mutian's sublime conception of his vocation as a teacher and educator.

In the first place, he taught youth. He thought that time the best which he spent among his books; he wept tears of joy whenever he received a fine parcel of volumes, and could delight himself with a list of titles if he could not get the works themselves. He delighted to kindle in his pupils the love for a book as a source of real learning, and to foster the spirit which he had awakened.

By books Mutian did not mean the big manuals and instruction volumes which were the basis of the university studies proper, but the writings of the Greek and Roman authors. It was they which should form the intellectual nourishment of the pupils, and become so familiar to them that in all difficulties of life they could follow their advice and decision. But, as much as he liked to present antiquated, grammatical and even orthographical teachings, and emphatically as he persisted in a pure and smooth style, he would not permit a servile imita-

tion of the old poets. He likened such copyists to bloodsuckers, who only extract the bad juices from the body, but leave in it the healthy blood. He even scoffed gently at the highly revered Reuchlin, who had tried in a learned sounding plaything to compare the Saxonians, Meissners and Thuringians with the old Axeners, Mysers and Tyrigets, by insinuating that the Axeners had perhaps been the same "Rauchvoelklein" as the Capnobates, the adherents of Reuchlin.

Furthermore, Mutian educated youth. As a stern judge he gave their achievements more blame than praise, and was severest against those from whom he expected the most. "If I would not love you," he once said, "I should not punish you." He admonished the disciples in morality, not only as regarded the subjects in poems, "a good poet had to be chaste," but he included the actions of life, as he considered moral freedom the finest blossom of the just attained spiritual liberty.

In a jocular university plan which he once designed, he demanded for every high school one sophist, two mathematicians, three theologians, four jurists, five medical instructors, six orators, seven Hebraists, eight Greeks, nine grammarians—that is, teachers of Latin,—and "ten right minded philosophers, quasi heads and leaders of the entire intellectual life." He esteemed thinking higher than knowledge. In accordance with this, his own religio-

philosophical confession of faith was more important than his perception of knowledge. This confession, however, he did not make the common possession of his disciples, confiding it only to his most intimate friends. He never failed to instruct the recipient of the secret letters of instruction to burn them. Such measures of precaution not only indicated a shyness of publicity and a dignified reserve from the multitude, but a certain weakness of character, such as he showed in his wavering uncertainty during the Reuchlin controversy.

But he was vivacious and earnest in his religious system at the time of his power. He was no frivolous voluptuary who sought to gain liberties through derision, but a serious thinker who observed external matters, perhaps for an example to weaker brethren. As substance with him went before form in learning, so in religion the essential dominated the mere expression. For him religion did not lie in the rites. Seldom did he offer the sacrifice of mass; he repudiated oral confession, derided the lenten meals, despised the misleading tales of the priests, as he had a contempt for the priests themselves, and declared with resolution: "I do not revere the coat, the beard and the prepuce of Christ; I revere the living God, who wears neither coat nor beard, and has not left a prepuce on earth."

The origin of religion was not the Bible for him,

but he used the criticism which he had learned from the authors of ancient times, embracing the books of the Old and New Testament, not in the sense that he undertook to solve certain questions as to the origin of some of the books, but that he doubted many of the stories, mildly derided odd events and denied the miracles.

Not even Christianity was to him the true religion. "Christendom did not begin with the incarnation of Christ, but many centuries before; for the real Christ, the real Son of God, is the Divine wisdom, which was communicated just as well to the Jews, the Greeks and the Germans." Another passage said: "The true Christ is not a man, but spirit and soul, which cannot be seen, nor touched by the hand, nor can it be comprehended."

Thus his religion was not the revealed divine law, but the highest moral love of men among themselves, peace of mind, repose of the soul. "The commandment of God,"—in these words he summed up his teaching,—"which illumines the soul, has two chapters,—that you love God and men as you love yourself. This law makes us worthy of Heaven. That is the natural law, not hewn in rock like that of Moses, nor cast in bronze like the Roman, not written on parchment or paper, but poured into our heart by the highest teacher. He who digests this memorable and healthful Eucharistic doctrine, does something divine. For

the real body of Christ is peace and harmony and there can be no more sacred host than mutual love."

If one wished to name all the members of the Mutian community, he would have to make a long list. Among those who have been mentioned were Hermann von Busch, Hutten and Eoban Hesse. There were many who had no part in the union, but boasted later of belonging to it. Among these were Heinrich Urban, Petrejus Aperbach and Crotus Rubeanus.

Heinrich Urban, about the same age as Mutian, and friendly with him since 1492, was a member of the order of the Cistercians, He lived in the monastery of Georgenthal, not far from Gotha. He saw his friend often and kept up a lively correspondence with him. That among the letters which he received were also the mentioned religious confessions of Mutian is shown by the fact that he held similar sentiments, and the scientific aspirations of the two men were the same. It was Urban who sent four gold guilders, money saved through hardships, to Aldo Manuzio in Venice, with the request that he should buy books for them, "who did not live far from the Fuggers,"—new ones, like Bessarion's and Merula's writings, and also old authors, Xenophon and others. He was, as Mutian once had characterized him, "the particular patron of good fellows, a zealous promoter of Latinity," whose ambition was described in the following letter of

Mutian: "Oh, Urban, our path is straight, narrow, uneven, hilly, steep and laborious, either rough through thistle brush, or blocked by rocks, so that we can only proceed with great effort and trouble, and constantly in danger of falling. Our path is straight, because we seek God alone and revere him unanimously; narrow, because only a few strive with us for science and gentle morals; steep, because it leads to the study of the Latin language; but only few attain the real spiritual good without effort."

Petrejus Aperbach (1480-1532) belonged to the oftenest named, but least known Humanists of the younger generation. In every correspondence his name was mentioned as a herald in battle. Mutian liked to call him "the second Mutian," or "field marshal of the Latin squad." Heinrich Stromer, in an unprinted letter (to Joh. Lange, 22d June, 1522), once described him as "derider of the Gods and men" (*derisor deorum et hominum*). Both descriptions fitted him, if they did not exhaustively picture his nature. This was everlasting juvenescence, even at mature age,—the capacity of, and the desire for enthusiasm, intense hatred against the theologians, whom he called by the scornful name of sophists and even stronger terms, and against the jurists, whom he spoke of as *jurisperditi,* instead of *jurisperiti.* He was somewhat offended by the remark of Pope Leo X, reported to him from Rome:

"He had not believed that all Germans together knew as much as Reuchlin alone." But Aperbach accepted it as a recognition from the opposing camp, and for that reason all the more valuable in the praise of the great leader to whose defense and glorification Aperbach devoted his life.

In this aspiration he found a companion in Joh. Crotus Rubeanus (properly huntsman from Dornheim; huntsman,—shooter, the star picture; Crotus, —thistle, blackberry, *rubeus,* hence Rubeanus, abt. 1480-1540), who stayed in Erfurt on several occasions and always for a long period. Even when he was distant, he remained in close connection with the Erfurters. He was not an unemployed literate, but a teacher and clergyman in Fulda, then in Prussia and at last in Halle. Neither was he a scholar, even if he did once announce a learned writing about Greek grammar (in an unprinted letter to Joh. Lange), but he was a satirist, who not only scoffed in numerous letters at the *philosophastros* and *theologastros,* but lent his coactivity,—if not with his name, still with his zeal,—to many satirical works of that time, such, for instance, as the letters of the obscurants.

Rubeanus, though a clergyman, was not a theologian by profession, but intimately associated with Luther. In the beginning he was ambitiously devoted to the latter's cause, but to him more than to others came the reaction, and more distinctly

than in the case of many, the reasons therefor could be cited. Indeed, the Protestants regarded a person as a retrogressive or a renegade who returned to the old Church and the same was to be said of all who remained true to it. A real withdrawal from the Church had not taken place with the majority. Luther, in his blunt way, called Rubeanus Dr. "Kroete" (Dr. "Toad"). The violent Lutherans thought he had turned Catholic again in order to cultivate his fondness for good living, and the more moderate thought he was weary of the struggle and longed for rest. In numerous writings—and the number alone spoke of their significance,—one sought to place the old Humanist, who as such must be an enemy of the Roman underlings, in opposition to the new Catholic, and regarded to have proven the incompatibility of both.

But Rubeanus had done only what nearly all of the eminent Humanists had done. He had openly confessed that the development of the Reformation did not attain his ideal, because instead of a reform discussed and accepted by the entirety, a single individual had undertaken a change, and thereby apparently vindicated to every other single individual the right to attempt arbitrary alterations. Again, the external formality was chosen as the object of the quarrel, but the intrinsic worth of man and morals was left unaltered, if it had not actually come to grief. It was easy to array

spirited declamations against such historical and philosophic doubts, in which one contrasted the corruption of the old Church with the "liberty of a Christian," conjuring up Hutten's shadow, so that he, violent and fierce, and a sworn enemy of all caviling, put to shame the insolent hypocrite as he was about to swing the censer at high mass, and to bend his knee with the choir singers; but it was unhistorical to cite only Hutten who, had he lived longer, would hardly have brought much pleasure to the frigid Protestants, and it was ignoble to impute hypocrisy to a man whose alliance one had greatly valued, and explained as based upon the cleanest motives, simply because he had turned opponent.

When this writing against Crotus, one of the best of Erfurters, was published by a fellow townsman or one who was close to the Erfurters,—it may have been that Justus Jonas or Menius was the author,—the Erfurt sodality had been scattered long before. Hutten was dead, Mutian the leader had gone, and the rest of the members had moved from the town or, if still there, were themselves only the remains of a beautiful past and the powerless mourners of a vanished glory.

CHAPTER VI

THE LEARNED SOCIETIES—THE GENERAL SPREAD OF HUMANISM

WITH the description of the universities, mostly of the Erfurter, one fact has become conspicuous, that is, by the side of the closed circle of the old, well-ordered body of teachers, a new liberal union consisting mostly of younger men would have led more effectively to the abandonment of the "old way" and the adoption of a new one. But these free unions, the *sodalitates literariæ,* were not confined to the universities, nor to a certain town, but were mostly scattered over Germany. Among these societies, two were particularly prominent, the Rhine and the Danube Society, (*Rhenana* and *Danubiana*).

The Danube Society was in close connection with the Vienna University, the second oldest in Germany, founded in 1365 as an offspring of the Paris High School, with preferential regard to the theological faculty. However, in spite of the opposition of the theologians, Humanism had held its early success. The cultivation of the Latin language,

insisted upon by the Humanists, grew so considerably that already, in 1499, the rectors of the universities requested of the students not to meddle with the products of the vulgar tongue, since no original wisdom could be derived from it. None the less, M. Joh. Heckmann, (who when he was rector in 1510, was scourged by Joh. Eck as a sophist and fool, and threatened with the opposition of Rhine, Danube and Neckar), dared to forbid the college to a poet who wished to lecture about meter, and threatened him with carceral punishment, because he had been disobedient to the rector, and had taken the liberty to "get on the rector's nerves" by "Thou-ing" the magister, though the poet was not even a baccalaurate. (*Quod simplex socius deberes tibisare unum rectorem universitatis qui est magister noster,* as the letters of the obscurants say. The adherents of the medieval Latin could not decide for a long time to discard the unclassic *vos,* and accept the classic *tu.*)

The Danube Society was able to show a sort of official document, and display a certain official activity. This document was an edition of the cosmography of Lucius Apulejus, (1497), inaugurated by the society, to which were added dedication poems of eighteen members of the union, who represented the main power, if not the total number. If one goes through this list of members, he observes a remarkable fact, which very likely finds

its explanation in the close connection of the society with the Imperial court: The poets were not youths, but dignitaries in office who, contrary to the customary manner of the Humanists, described themselves with their full titles, like, for instance, "Imperial secretary, Royal physician in attendance, Doctor of Law, etc.," and who, in addition to their office, also named their scientific qualifications,—mathematician, theologian, etc.,—and used "pedagogue" when they did not have anything else for a scientific title.

The official activity constituted the effectiveness of a smaller society branching off from this union, which was brought into close connection with the university by Maximilian. This was the collegium of the poets and mathematicians, established by the emperor in 1501. It was comprised of four university teachers, was under the management of the representative of poetry for the time being, had the task to restore "the eloquence of the former period," and the privilege of conferring the laurel coveted by the students of poetry and oratory of the Vienna University on the strength of an examen, carefully prepared for them.

Among the members of the Danube Society three may be mentioned,—a poet, an orator, and a mathematician. The last was Georg Tannstetter, from Rain (*Collimitius*,—Rain,—frontier, limes, 1482-1535), a highly esteemed man, both in the artistic

faculty and in the medical, to which he later belonged. He gained a high reputation with several emperors as imperial physician, was chosen for political missions, and raised to the nobility. He was also an astronomer, and as such recommended to Pope Leo X for assistance in the improvement of the calendar that was proposed by the pontiff. He was a publisher of various calendars (*ephemeriden*), and, like the majority of the astronomers of that time, was an astrologist. This science was so highly regarded by him that there was an inscription on his tombstone extolling his ability "to predict the future from the signs of Heaven." His prophecies were universally accepted as true, since it is said he predicted the death of Maximilian almost to the day. When there was a rumor, in 1523, that he had foretold the destruction of the city of Vienna in the following year, from the stars and planets, he had to repudiate such a prophecy in order to dispel the general terror.

It must be said that Tannstetter had worked more for the development of science than through such dreamings, for he gave intelligent support to the geographical and historical plans of the emperor, and by his efforts in the field of cartography and physical geography, in which he was one of very few experts at that time.

The poet was Johann Crachenberger, who was manager of the society from 1499-1508. He called

himself by the well-sounding name of Pierius Gracchus, as he deemed his German appellation too barbaric. He wrote Latin poetry and occupied himself preferably with Latin authors, but in spite of this preference for ancient times, and the Humanistic change in his name he refrained from bias and prejudice to that degree that he proposed to write a German grammar.

Johann Spiesshaimer (Cuspinian, 1473-1529), since 1496 *lector ordinarius artis oratoriæ* at the Vienna University, was also busy in many other offices, and lived in the immediate surroundings of the emperor. Maximilian liked him and gave him several commissions and offices. He sent him as ambassador to Hungary and to Poland, in order to tie the bond of peace and fortify the same through two marriages between members of the Hapsburg and Hungarian dynasties. He appointed him imperial prefect of the city of Vienna, with a view to guard the imperial interests in this easily influenced place.

Cuspinian loved the emperor, not in the ostentatious manner which the other Humanists displayed, but with simple and deep devotion. He described the death year of his master in his diary as an unblessed and mournful one. Besides those loyal words there were religious comments in the record, for he was religious and faithfully devoted to the old belief, to which he showed double fervor until

the end of his life, after a brief inclination to the Protestant innovations.

Cuspinian was not only an orator and diplomat, for which latter activity he needed juristic and statesmanlike knowledge, but he was a philologist, poet and medical expert. His literary activity in these three branches, however, did not surpass the average medium of the Humanists. He was to a certain extent the conscientious publisher and commentator of the writings of the Roman ancient period, and learned from the Latins the use of the antique meter, and he endeavored carefully to compile what the ancients had said about their prominent physicians.

Cuspinian raised himself through his historical works to remarkable importance. In addition to his diary referred to, he published a history of the so-called Vienna Congress, 1515, that is, the meeting in Vienna of the emperor with the kings of Hungary, Poland and Bohemia. His chief work *Austria* is a record of the country from the Babenberg counts until the death of Maximilian, with a detailed geographical description. The latter was to be enriched by plans and maps in accordance with the original intention of the author. He gathered ample material and showed at least the beginnings of a critic; for instance, the book denied the fabulous age of the Hapsburg dynasty, and repudiated the belief of many in privileges granted by Cæsar and

Nero to Austria. What the *Austria* was for the Middle Ages, the two works *De Consulibus* and *De Cæsaribus,* were supposed to be for the ancient times and for the general history of Europe. In truth, the former was simply a compilation of important and rare writings, with comments by the publisher, while the latter filled in a measure a pedagogic purpose, by holding before future times and particularly before future rulers, as in a mirror, the virtues which adorn a ruler, and the vices which brand him. Both were exceedingly industrious works, brought with the help of learned friends from all places, laudable testimonials for Cuspinian's educated sense, his veneration for the ancient times, and his love for his Fatherland.

Among the not very numerous poems of Cuspinian, there is one " to the excellent, for the sake of science well merited Imperial Secretary, the patron of the Muses, Joh. Fuchsmag." This Fuchsmag (Fusemannus, about 1450-1510) philologist and historian, diplomat in the service of Duke Sigismund of Tyrol, later of two emperors, repeatedly distinguished in parliaments and in embassies, and supporting Maximilian's scientific inclination, is less interesting through his independent works, chronological and numismatical treatises, also a history of Karl der Kuehne which remained in handwriting, than by the works which he was able to secure from others. The companions of the Danube Society re-

garded him as their *Mœcenas,* on account of such capabilities and perhaps also for the reason that he was valuable to them because of his close relation to the emperor, and at least could be useful. To him, therefore, was dedicated the book *Epitoma de mundo,* written by Lucius Apulejus, which was published by the society with a dedication in which was said, rather exaggeratingly: "Who, among the eminent men in Germany, is more zealous and strives more in the exploration of both spheres, of Heaven and Earth, than you? Who is more versed in regard to figures and measurement proportions of the earth, and the great stars in the firmament? Who is able to talk with greater knowledge of the subject of nations and peoples, of towns, oceans and rivers? And who is better able to give explanations of many species of animals and man, of their variety according to the different climates, and zones in which they live?"

The most peculiar monument, however, Fuchsmag erected for himself. Like Corycius, he asked and received poems from friends and fellows in sentiment, and comprised them all in a collection. If with the Italians the glorification of the saints was the chief matter, then with the Germans it was the praising of the Humanistic studies, which were placed in the foreground; the enthusiastic opinion of the pope corresponded to a lively praise of the emperor; and the inordinately loud shouting of triumph

over the merits of the collector and him who ordered the poems, was common to both collections. On the other hand, there was not much to be said about love, the eternal subject of other Latin poems, but considerable of saints (one of the poets called himself outright, *monachus*) and of the profane, of history and politics. The national German feeling was emphasized, in contrast to that abroad, occasional poems of divers kinds, "congratulations of all sorts," and "Leichencarmina," were included in the volume, also unpoetical subjects like the fasting of the Swiss Clausius for years. It must not be supposed that only poverty-stricken poets here wrote of their doings; there were some very clever men among them, Reuchlin, for instance, and through their contributions the collection received its character of a lively picture of the sentiments of the Vienna league of poets of that time.

Reuchlin did not belong to the Vienna circle. He had written his poem,—a mourning ode upon the death of Emperor Frederick III,—on the occasion of a journey as ambassador, but his home was Suabia, and as he lived closer to the Rhine than to the Danube, he was in more intimate touch with the *sodalitas literaria Rhenana* than with the Danube Society. The Rhine Society had its seat at Heidelberg. But this union was not tied to any particular place; it had members in the immediate proximity of the center of Germany as, for instance,

in Worms, and it stretched its branches far into the land, to Suabia and Franconia. Nürnberg, Regensburg and Freiburg were represented by zealous if not very prominent members; Augsburg sent her highly renowned Konrad Peutinger who, because he was not particularly creative, had to appear to the union an especially important member through enticing the colleagues to research and help to collect. As the Danube Society was encouraged by the emperor, so the Rhine Society had a high patron in the palsgrave Philip; however, he participated in it only externally, while the emperor was heart and soul in the undertaking. Like the former, the Rhine union had mathematicians and poets, schoolmen and officials for its members; they also had common undertakings, like the publication of the works of the nun Hrotsuitha, inaugurated after a find in Nürnberg, which attracted great interest and remained a favorite object of correspondence for many years. The honored head of the society was Joh. Dalburg, Bishop of Worms (1445-1503).

"Among the philosophers he was Plato, among the musicians Thimotheus, among the orators Demosthenes, among the astronomers Firmikus, among the mathematicians Archimedes, among the poets Virgil, among the cosmographs Strabo, among the priests Augustinus, and among the religious Numa Pompilius." With these words Joh. Trithemius praises the head of the Rhine Society, who

was also its censor. Other than his mental advantages were esteemed; for instance, Celtes praised his external appearance, his tall, slender figure, the old reputation of the house, and the warlike ancestors who were a glorious model to the descendants.

Joh. von Dalburg had begun his studies in Erfurt, and continued them in Italy. There he had become a doctor of law, had made associations with distinguished men, and had sought and found the opportunity to learn the various manifestations of mental life in that country. Returned to Germany, he became the bishop of Worms (1482), and as such had to attend to many rather difficult ecclesiastical and authoritative matters. He was one of the best liked and most influential advisers of the sovereign prince, the pfalzcount, and had to undertake in his commission several journeys as ambassador to Switzerland, Rome and Paris. This official diplomatic activity, however, as conscientiously as he attended to it, he did not consider the purpose of his life. He wanted, in common with the Italian princes admired by him, both ecclesiastics and worldlies, to be more Maecenas than Augustus. The establishment and endowment of his libraries, of which he possessed several in Ladenburg and Heidelberg, lively intercourse with the professors, among whom he used his noble birth and high position only in order to be able to assist his friends by learned studies on many subjects,—these were

the occupations through the constant exercise of which he thought to fulfill the true task of his life. Rudolf Agrikola and Joh. Reuchlin were his closest companions. He was active also in a literary sense. Among his writings Tritheim names four, besides the unavoidable speeches, poems and letters, and their titles are characteristic of the mental development of the man. One, "a book about numismatology," was not a treatise on national economy, but an antiquarian research for Roman coins, prompted by the investigating zeal of that time. The second, "about the origin of nobility," perhaps induced by the liberating stimulus of the Italian theorists, doubly significant because this was no bourgeois who talked about the hated aristocratic rank, but a member of an old noble house speaking of his own caste. The third, "about the secret mystery of figures," doubtless mystic playthings, was caused by the cabalistic, new platonic toy works of Reuchlin, who had the greatest influence over Dalburg. The fourth writing, "a collection of some thousand Greek and German words, that mean the same in both languages," which was hardly as voluminous as described in an exaggerated way by Tritheim, must be regarded as an incitement to the aspirations of Reuchlin, that pointed to the Greek language, and was certainly an enterprise which deserves our gratitude.

In closest relation to the Rhine Society lived the

Magus of the South, Johannes Trithemius, one of the most characteristic figures of the Renaissance period, falsifier of history and an alchemist, star gazer, politician, theologian and Humanist.

He was born in 1462 and died in 1516. In the year 1482 he entered the monastery of Sponheim as a monk, became prior in the second year, caused derogative comment through his constant studying among the education-hating monks, and therefore, resigned in 1597, after he had failed in effecting a change in the hostile sentiment. He lived until his death as prior of the ancient cloister Schoffen at St. Johann in Würzburg. A journey which he had hoped would restore the monastic peace had led him to Berlin to interview the markgraf Joachim, the patron of the Humanists. The journey itself was rather unsuccessful for him, for Joachim appeared to him barren both physically and mentally. On his return journey he met Faust the miracle man, Georg Sabellikus Faustus, as Tritheim called him, but could not have speech with him, because Faust fled before him. Tritheim told of this triumphantly, for he was a rival of the necromancer and astrologer. He thought himself a magician and was declared to be one by the contemporaries and later generation. Many tales record his supernatural capabilities. It sounds incredible that he predicted of Wilhelm von Grumbach, that he would become either a great advantage or a disadvantage to his Fatherland, and

in the latter event would pay the penalty with a grewsome death. It was more absurd that he rapped at the window of an inn where there was nothing to eat, and presently, as if by the hands of a ghost, a well-appointed meal was served. It reminds us of Faust's conjuring exploits when he made Emperor Maximilian's dead wife Maria appear before him, so much like her that not even the black mole on her neck was missing.

Tritheim gave the cause for such legends and rumors through his writings devoted to mystic teaching, especially his steganography. The shape in which the work appeared, in 1606, did not answer to the programme which the author set up in 1499. This discrepancy, however, did not justify any one in doubting the authenticity of the work, but only caused the belief that the programme was unquestionably the will of the author. In the first book, he wished to communicate a hundred kinds of secret writing, which were comprehensible only to the two correspondents, but were totally hidden from the uninitiated. The second book was devoted to the art of conveying news through a messenger who did not know anything of what was thus transmitted, or possibly it was done without any messenger at all. The third volume claimed to teach Latin idiom in the space of two hours. Finally, the fourth book proposed to elaborate the art of communicating one's own will to the initiated, in the

presence of others, without words or hints, even with the eyes blindfolded, and to do this without interrupting any action which might be consummated by the magic teacher or by others during the process of communication. All this incredible knowledge Tritheim declared he had received through a revelation, in whose reality he firmly believed.

With all these wild ideas, Tritheim was not an infidel but, on the contrary, he was a believer who, like a penitence preacher, knew how to discourse on the misery of human life and, like a zealous moralist, fought the moral deficiencies of the monastery and the worldly clergy with inexorable vigor. None the less, as an orthodox Catholic, he declared the pope infallible, and found the reason for this belief in the passage of the Bible, "Denounce not the Gods."

On the other hand, the daring flight of Tritheim's thoughts did not prevent him from carefully observing the things in this world and studying, back of the life of the spirits, the spiritual life itself, or from loving books and availing himself of the philological and historical knowledge in which those times excelled. Nevertheless, in his publications of this nature, in his catalogue of Church authors, the list of celebrated literary men of Germany, the learned men of the Carmelite and the Benedictine order, he could not give up the fraudulent feature

of his being, for he was more a fraud than a defrauded person. In all these works,—useful as they may be as lexicographic literature and the first attempts of the kind, as reports of a well informed contemporary, and as the fruit of the reading of an industrious researcher,—there was much deception and misleading statement. For Tritheim was not a writer of history, who was only in search of the truth, but he coveted the proof of his favorite ideas, regardless whether they corresponded with fact. He sought the praise of his time at the expense of the past, the glorification of Germany, and the elevation of the clerical orders at the expense of the laity. The germ of falsification of history thrived in this tendency.

The unpardonable defect was conspicuous in his historical works. Three of them must be dealt with. The first history was devoted to the abbey of Sponheim, from its foundation to the end of Tritheim's office, with consideration of the most important contemporary events in the German history. The second was a great chronicle of the monastery Hirschau (*Annales Hirsangienses*), from 830-1513, which wrongly bore the name of the cloister at its head, as it was in reality a history of the world projected on a grand scale. The third work was a chronicle of the Franks, which aimed to present in three volumes a record of the deeds of those people, from 440 B. C. to 1514, but which in reality re-

mained a brief compendium of the first ten centuries of their history.

All the three works, so far as they did not refer to the lifetime of the author and drew useful information from the experiences of the well-traveled and highly informed man, were compilations from well-known sources. Tritheim was neither objective nor reliable in the use of these sources. He employed even authorities in hand-writing like the *Codex Hirsangiensis,* a collection of medieval documents which has since been printed, but made strange omissions, additions and perversions. He showed whimsicalities of treatment that were unpardonable in a historian. He wished to beguile his cloister companions and to defend the members of the Dominican order, who were close to him, against all reproaches. He charged the Jews with the murder of Christian children, although the report of the emperor, who conducted an investigation, declared that there was no proof of anything of the kind. Then in his wilful manner he declared that the persecution of the Jews arose less from Christian zeal for religion and justice, than from the desire for the money of the persecuted.

As a churchman, Tritheim judged the heads of the Church favorably, and in recording the struggles between the emperors and the popes, he took sides with the latter. He even became an opponent of the unity of the German kingdom with Roman im-

perialism, primarily from ecclesiastical motives, but subsequently from national prejudice, and he eloquently exposed the harm that had resulted from such a unity. Similar tendencies led to outright falsifications on his part. In order to prove the scientific prosperity of the Hirschau monastery, and the former connection of this cloister with the one in Fulda, he invented a Fuldaer chronicler by the name of Meginfried, who was supposed to have died in 1010. This was done in order to substantiate the old fairy tale of the Trojan origin of the Franks, and to prove the fabulous deeds of the latter during the first Christian centuries,—deeds which have no place beside those of the Romans, and which made glorious the achievements of the Germans in the first period of their appearance. He invented the historian Hunibald who, living in the period of King Clovis, was supposed to have written the history of France from the earliest times, by digging up evidence from ancient sources. Meginfried and Hunibald were simply creatures of Tritheim's imagination; nobody else had ever seen their handwriting. He only reported in Würzburg of the Hunibald code, which was supposed to have been discovered in Sponheim, and he gave painfully evasive information to Emperor Maximilian, who was eager to see such a venerable witness of old German glory.

With all this, the fraud was so clumsy that Trit-

heim thought it advisable to save himself by certain cavilings,—such as that the script was not very readable and probably had been tampered with. The deception was so brazen that even in those uncritical times it was discerned. Herman von Neuenaar exposed the swindle, after Beatus Rhenanus had warned people against the mumblings of the alleged Frankish author, and Wimpheling had charged Tritheim with inaccuracy and negligence. All the same, though he was marked as a charlatan and a fraud, he was without doubt a man of deep learning, well versed in all knowledge which Humanism esteemed worthy. To him the making of verses was boyish work; mourning odes and epitaphs formed in his estimation the only poetical exercise fit for a man. In spite of the essential differences between him and the other representatives of Humanism, he was in the closest association with the members of the new party, as the pupil of one of them and teacher of others. Through his affiliation with the Rhine Society he was in intimate relation with many, and strove to be a friend to all.

Smaller circles of Humanists were formed in many places. The difference between them and the two leading societies consisted primarily in the fact that the latter were restricted to a certain place. To make their task equally strong they had to cultivate Humanistic studies, were held together by a famous name, and were unanimous in the veneration of

the master. Such societies as those named would not be founded necessarily only in towns with schools and universities, though they were established there more easily than elsewhere.

In their class were the societies in Ingolstadt, whose manager was the historian Joh. Aventin, of whom we shall speak later; and in Basel, the head of which was Bonifacius Amerbach, and whose most powerful motive was his veneration for Erasmus. There were also Schlettstadt and Strasburg, at the head of which was Jacob Wimpheling, and whose members included the professors of these two Humanism-loving towns.

If one desires to proceed further, he can, as K. Hagen did, make a tour through the Germany of that period, and he will observe that in every town there were representatives of the new school. Among them were every age and profession. They formed, as it were, a great secret lodge, which was not held together by badges, statutes and curious ceremonies, but by the stronger bond of harmony and one great, common aim. A lively correspondence, which took the place of all other kinds of recreation, was the connecting bond between the separated members, and the wandering impulse, born in every German, which expanded and flourished despite difficult traveling brought the scattered ones nearer to one another.

The compilation of such a list, for the complete-

ness of which not even the most intimately informed man of the Humanistic period could vouch, would have at the most only statistical value, and would confuse rather than enlighten the reader. Therefore, I content myself with relating an anecdote and drawing a life picture, in order to characterize the wide spreading of Humanism. The frequently told incident was this: In Boppard on the Rhine lived a customs officer, Eschenfelder, who by the Latinization of his name (*Cinicampianus*) proved his solidarity with Humanism. He had the good fortune to see Erasmus in his native place, on the occasion of the latter's Rhine tour. The officer was so overjoyed that he did not content himself with merely seeing the celebrated man, but brought him to his home and introduced him to his relatives and friends. The boatmen, who pressed impatiently for departure, were calmed by wine and promised a remission of duty on their return for their services in bringing him such a wonderful visitor. Erasmus, not without self-pride, in telling this little story added his favorite maxim: "How wicked really these monks are, when even the tolltakers cultivate the beautiful sciences."

That this maxim did not always hold good, was proved by the man who, although he lived in a secluded monastery, sought personally to approach the Humanist and share his views, and even undertook to communicate them to others. This was Nicolaus

Ellenbog, monk at Ottobeuren (1481-1543). The mission of the monastic clergy to spread useful knowledge, he construed in the higher sense of making them the chief bearers of mental culture. He established a printing shop in his cloister and an institution whose avowed purpose was to render its pupils *homines trilingues*. He himself was such a "three language" man; he used the Latin idiom with fluency and skill in his writings and letters, but without any particular classical power, and ardently added Greek and Hebrew flourishes to the Latin phrases which he had acquired through many years of laborious study,—for he had to wait a long time to get a Hebrew Bible, and he could obtain the knowledge of its characters only by painstaking labor. He had perhaps begun its study in the expectation of realizing his astrological-cabalistic dreams, for he stoutly believed in the astrological delusion. On the whole, he did not possess a high and free mind, and his horizon did not stretch very far beyond the walls of his monastery. He was a pious theologian and morally a strong monk, equally set against corrupt cloister raiders and innovation Protestants. He wrote long-winded tracts in opposition to Luther and his companions, in which violence and verbosity often took the place of eloquence and logic. He occupied himself with history, but did no more than collect news and attempt to make a chronicle-like compilation. He

groped around in all various domains without reaching the goal, and frequently without even finding the right way.

Still Ellenbog was heart and soul a Humanist. He championed Reuchlin's cause against his cloister companions and other monks, and did not waver because of the Parisian decision. He fostered the ardent desire,—as he wrote to his venerated friend,—"that the loathsome mouths of your enemies should be stopped," not only because the opponents disturbed the master in his quiet, but because they hindered the free development of science. He enjoyed only small honors in his life; but when he saw one of his letters to Reuchlin copied in print in a collection of "Letters of Famous Men," published by Reuchlin, he was jubilant. He was specially pleased with the word *Cubitus,* into which his German name Ellenbog was Latinized. He recorded in a somewhat illegible hand the joyous remark in Greek and Hebrew, on the manuscript of one of his letters, "Into the Hands of My Beloved One."

Compared with the Italian free academies, the German learned societies were at considerable disadvantage. In the first place, they lacked the close personal union and therefore the mutual influence, since the members as a rule did not live in the same place. Again, they had not the men whose leadership was undisputed. Even a Dalburg could hardly

be placed on a par with Cosmo von Medici, Bessarion, and Pomponio Leto. Finally, they lacked the leading idea, the fixed tendency, through which the Italian academies might be differentiated among themselves. While the first was conspicuous as a cultivator of Platonic philosophy, the second a patron of the Hellenistic studies and the third an exploiter of Roman ancient times, the German societies were without exception the home of the arts of poetry and learning, without any one of them being able to perform a particular task.

However, it must not be thought that the general and only duty consisted in the mutual glorification of the members. On the contrary, the latter regarded themselves as aspirants, not as the finished product. Even if they liked to be praised, they appreciated well-founded criticism. They sent one another their writings before having them printed, and asked for an impartial judgment; they planned enterprises in common, although their realization was very difficult because of the long distance separating many. Such undertakings were sometimes based upon the customs of classical times, which was the breath of life to the societies and the individual members. They turned in preference to the German Middle Ages, true to the patriotic sentiments with which all were inspired, and searched out historical and poetical works of the Germans,—though they were written in Latin,—in order to show that even

in the barbaric period the Germans never had been barbarians.

There was no lack of errors in these attempts, for literary tyros are like children, who grasp at the first, preferably the colored and gaudy, as the best, but the tendency which guided these men was a noble one. It might perhaps be called a grand one, and it would be gross injustice to accuse them—as has been done—of falsification. The moving force, the vital principle, of the two chief societies was one man who, above all others, looms up as one of the bravest and most indomitable apostles of Humanism,—a zealous, itinerant preacher, in whom in spite of seriousness and earnest activity, the gayety of mood and the fresh impulse of youth were always preserved. He was the poet Conrad Celtes.

CHAPTER VII

POETRY AND THE POETS

HE who studies the literature of the Renaissance period in Italy will note the remarkable fact that many men employed the Latin idiom instead of the Italian language, which had developed to perfection. It was rejected, however, as not worthy to live, although admired by the entire nation. In Germany such a sentiment would seem less striking, for at that time the German language was not sufficiently developed to lure writers to poetical treatment, and the public, which might perhaps have given its approval to German songs, was not of a kind to be coveted by the poet. Despite the explainable inclination of the Germans to the language of Rome, their poetry remained less perfect than that of the Italians. There were only a few new Latin works of poetry among the Germans which could be ranked beside the many important productions of the Italians. The reason for this inferiority cannot be found in the lack of poetical ability, nor in the briefer duration of German Humanism, which perhaps was not sufficiently long to

produce a great creation, but in the meagerly developed sense of beauty of form and the imperfect conception of the essence of poetry.

Already Wimpheling had defined the poem as "a species of oratory, confined to a certain measure, and distinguished by special embellishment," and he described as the essential nature of poetry that a truth was proclaimed with certain circumlocutions. His companion, Sebastian Brant, presented the poet in a well known woodcutting as an elderly man, seated before a desk on which lay a big folio. This conception, which caused him to refer the activity of the poet, in the preface to his chief poetical production, as a collection "with particular diligence, seriousness and work," remained the prevailing one with the Humanists. The theorists liked to compare the poet to a bee, which alights on all flowers and, filling itself full out of their petals, gathers the honey in their cells. The old saying that a poet is born and not made, seemed to be forgotten, and according to the prevailing opinion anyone could become a poet through skill, exercise, and emulation (*arte, exercitatione, imitatatione*).

Every German Humanist composed his verses under such rules, and many imagined themselves to be poets. Some became really skilled makers of verse, in whose easy and smooth-flowing rhythm one did not notice the effort which the poets had to

make; only a few can be rated as members of the honored list.

Conrad Celtes was one. Perhaps it was with greater pride than with historical right that he called himself the "first poet laureate in Germany," but he deserved a rank among them.

Conrad Celtes Protucius (properly *Pickel,*—Meissel, Latin *Caelites, Celtes,* Greek *Protucius*) was born on February 1, 1459, in the Franconian village of Wipfeld. He acquired a fine education in Cologne, and afterwards at Heidelberg. Though he did not seem fitted for a teacher, he began such work in various German high schools, in Erfurt, Rostock and Leipzig, and went to Italy, the principal towns of which he visited during a stay of barely six months. He perfected his knowledge of Greek, collecting handwritings and forming many personal relations. Hardly had he returned when he obtained (April, 1487) in Nürnberg the honor of being made poet laureate, a distinction which he always regarded as the fullest recognition of his poetical talent. This honor, however, he did not accept as the completion of his education, but he journeyed to Krakau, (Cracow), in order to perfect his knowledge of mathematics and astronomy. There he began his activity as an apostle of Humanism. Wherever he went, he gathered his followers into a union, and strove to have new companions introduced by these members, that not only the great

leagues previously described, the Rhine and Danube Societies, but also smaller ones in Ofen and Krakau, could be traced to him. A fifth,—*sodalitcs albina* or *Baltica*—which was to be of the same significance for the north of Germany as those named were for the west, south and east, proved a failure.

From Krakau, where he stayed two years, Celtes began the great journey which led him throughout the whole of Germany, sometimes for a brief sojourn to teach and compose poetry, but he was never inclined toward a settled abode, not even in Nürnberg, where the wealthy patron of Humanism could not hold him. From the University of Ingolstadt, where he acted twice,—in 1492 and 1494—as teacher of poetry and oratory, the wandering impulse, the uncertainty of his position and the uncompromising attitude of his colleagues, drove him away, and when he resumed for the third time his interrupted activity at the Bavarian university, in 1497, he was received almost as unwillingly as he had gone thither. The long-yearned-for call to Vienna found him, therefore, in a receptive mood.

There, in the town familiar to him, he entered a well prepared field for his activity. He became the soul of the Danube Society, the leading head of the collegium of the poets and mathematicians, and the moving force of the university. He busied himself with great plans, with the completion of his poetical works, the publication of the old classics and medi-

eval histories, the supervision of the royal library and, above all, with his favorite idea,—a *Germania illustrata,* a publication of vast geographical and historical value to Germany. This far-reaching project did not pass beyond its beginnings, and the remaining plans progressed only partially. The reason for this regretful failure lay chiefly in the fact that Celtes was an inspirer but not a worker himself, and it must be confessed that, through his irregular and often intemperate living, he undermined what was left him of his working power. Before he was fifty years old, he was a decrepit old man. He composed an epitaph for himself a year before his death, which occurred February 4, 1508. He was buried with great honors. He made a will in which he bequeathed to the Vienna University his books and, what he esteemed as his most precious possession the privilege of the crowning of the poet, conferred upon him by the emperor, with his silver laurel wreath.

Celtes was full of pride and self-consciousness; he felt that he was the first who had composed Latin poetry in Germany and he admonished the youths to follow, and to excel him. He placed himself by the side of Horace, and wished that his poems had the same success and duration as those of the great master in Italy. It must be said that his imitation of Horace was too conspicuous; he used the same meters as the antique poet; he composed, like him,

four books, had a book of epodes to follow them, and concluded with a "carmen sæculare"; he was like his model in aggression, and followed him in many views and sentiments. In his poetry he was lyric throughout. Only rarely did he make attempts at the narrative, for instance, in an attractive little poem which reminds one of Goethe's *Wirkung in die Ferne* (Effect in the distance); his epic works proper, and also his dramatic creations were very weak, and replete with reminiscences of ancient times. This was shown in the *ludus Dianæ,* a play enacted in honor of the emperor, when he had inaugurated the collegium of the poets and mathematicians in Vienna, and in the rhapsody which Celtes dedicated to the emperor after the victory gained in the Bavarian heredity war, when Apollo with the nine Muses, Mercury and Bacchus with fauns and satyrs, celebrated the achievement of Triumphator.

Celtes was a poet of love. He occasionally called the passion his only chronic disease. The four books of his *amores* were mostly devoted to love, and in the other works, the odes and epigrams,—even though he tried to assume a gloomy air in the latter,—erotic verses were to be found. However his Muse was not chaste and modest, but wild, and not infrequently even frivolous. He coveted enjoyment, felt contented in the mad whirlpool, described with great gusto the external charms of his sweetheart, and elaborated upon the pleasures

of love which he had enjoyed, with a bluntness which causes the greatest amazement in the modern reader. His love sentiments were neither faithful nor steady; seldom has a poet shown the practical application of the old saying. "Ein anderes Stædtchen, ein anderes Mædchen" (Another town, another sweetheart). His *amores* were dedicated to four different damsels,—Hasilina, Elsula, Gretula and Barbara. Once he addressed a poem even to Venus, in which he mentioned at least "tres amores." As he did not pledge faith, he did not demand faith; as he betrayed the women who gave themselves up to him, he did not reckon upon steadfastness on their part. Thus his love poems were not protestations of pure and sublime feelings, but a gorgeous splendor of description, and powerfully exciting sensual representations, like splendid but worm-eaten fruit, ripened by the fierce glow of the southern sun. However, they were original, since they had been taken from his own experience and sentiments; yet one sometimes feels suspicion of foreign models, like Petrarch, for instance. The thought, frequently pronounced by the Italian poet, returns in Celtes, that the beloved one would become famous through his poems, that she would be known to posterity and excite the envy of many another of a later generation. He was a bird of passage. Wandering was a necessity to him, he admonished his friends to do likewise, and saw in

wandering a part of his nature because he had the mania to see new things, because he yearned for natural pleasures, hoped to gain fame by his appearance at various places, and thought to spread the new ideas of Humanism like a true apostle by his roaming over the country. But he lacked the receptiveness and simplicity of the child of nature; thus, when he wrote songs of eulogy upon the spring, etc., he betrayed by the colorless general praise which he bestowed that it was the result of laborious reflection, and not aroused by spontaneous influence upon his mind; and he showed by his frequent mention of antique gods that he had borrowed from the ancients other things besides expressions. He demanded fame like a true son of the Renaissance. "That death," he said on one occasion, "was the sweetest who lives again with fame in posterity." But the renown after which he strove was not the frequent mention of his name by the nameless, nor by those boasting only of a title, but by the really learned. For titles he had a contempt. When he was asked to salute an unlearned doctor he answered, "Of doctors we have more than enough, we need learned men" (*doctus quærimus, doctores plures habemus*). But who is learned? To this he gave an answer: "A high mind is he who explains the writings of others, a higher one who translates writings from abroad, but highest he who invents new things."

were attached to him by the same sentiments and various relations in life; for instance, the members of the Danube and Rhine Societies, the valiant patricians of Nürnberg, and many a quiet learned man who lived in seclusion and yet influenced the multitude powerfully, like Reuchlin and Tritheim. Such a bond of unity not only tied the poet to the living, but to the departed,—he lauded Albert the Great, boasted of his relation with the mighty Gregor von Heimburg and sang with enthusiasm the glory of the inventor of the art of printing.

This praise originated with him from the thought of the advantages which that art had given to the development of science, as well as from the felicitous consciousness that the inventor was a German, for his heart was pledged to Germany and the Germans. His wanderings had for their purpose to see the Fatherland; his love poems were divided into four books, "after the four parts of Germany," he addressed to the emperor a synopsis of all Germany, as an introduction to a great poetical description of the country which he promised to publish; he planned an epos, "Theodorich," which he intended to use for the expression of his patriotic feelings. He called his countrymen to a war with the Turks; he composed a controversy of poems between Venice and Germany, in which he prophesied victory to the latter in spite of the great power and the patron saints of the former; he admonished the Germans

not to study in Italy, and challenged the studious Italians, especially the jurists, to come to Germany, for the emperor was without a doubt the bearer and keeper of justice; he fostered the hope that in poetry the Germans would soon be the equal of the Italians, and would even lead them.

In consequence of his overzealous patriotism he was,—unlike the majority of the other Humanists,—not an adorer of Rome. When he entered that city, he felt less enthusiasm about its infinite size than horror over its deteriorated state, and when, at sight of the desolate ruins, he broke out in exclamation, "Only virtue and Scriptures persist," he proved that he did not share the eccentric old ruin cult which was the custom of those times. He went even further. When he reported the finding of a Roman corpse he did not think, like the easily excited Romans, that this fact was an evidence of the eternal duration of the Roman name, of the bodily resurrection of antique beauty, but he added to the reference the remark that if a similar find should be made in another hundred years, there would be no more Roman names to record. Therefore, in a comparison between Greeks and Romans, he gave the preference to the former, unlike the majority of his contemporaries, with the reason that the Romans had been richer in words, but the Greeks were richer in subjects. He made the most strenuous effort to spread the knowledge of Greek, and

at the close of one of his works gave a Greek alphabet, so as to teach the Greek characters to those who did not understand the language itself. This anti-Roman sentiment was influenced, perhaps directly caused, by his aversion to Rome as the principal place of priestcraft. For he hated the priests, because they held Germany in bonds, disgraced their profession with their drunkenness, and hindered the development of mental life in consequence of their ignorance; but this was not because he was not inclined towards religion.

He sometimes had pious spasms. He undertook pilgrimages, but for the purpose of ridding himself of diseases; he praised God and the saints in long poems, in which one cannot deny all genuine sentiment—in spite of their artistic, or even artificial meter; but we must hesitate to call him a true Catholic. His contemporaries doubted his religiousness, as did the pious theologians, because they declared strict faith incompatible with such strongly developed Humanistic tendencies. The Protestants, soon following him, thought to have an ally in him because he occasionally abused the priests. The papal index condemned his writings, but perhaps less on account of his irreligiousness than for his obscene poems.

However, we do not raise our doubts on the basis of this partial evidence, but on the foundation of the remarkable fact that Celtes, if he did frequently

scoff at the Bohemian infidels, confronted the two facts with one another,—that Huss had been burned to death, and that his preaching had generally permeated Bohemia, and his praises were sung there with such devotion that one cannot repudiate his preaching, nor answer satisfactorily the question where the truth really was to be found.

Celtes was clear in his own mind that religion is harmed by superstition. Hence he agitated against the astrologers and their mendacity, even though he spoke of the portentous signs which preceded the death of King Mathias of Hungary. Perhaps in doing this he availed himself of a poet's license only.

He proved to the astrologers how often their predictions did not come true and condemned their eagerness to foretell the fate of kings and realms. The future was and always would be hidden from man; knowledge belonged to God alone. By virtue of these views, Celtes proved himself an eminent bearer of the idea of Humanism. He was not an insignificant scientist, but a peculiar thinker, religiously and patriotically inclined, full of lively sympathy with the good and the beautiful, and at the same time an artistic master of the language,—in short, a real poet.

Celtes had many imitators, but few in that art of poetry in which he excelled,—the poetry of love. Perhaps this remarkable fact was connected with

a trait which did not contribute honor to the German mind. The poetry of love, if not an habitual plaything, emanated from the heart. Now the language of feeling cannot be a language that is learned, much as one may like to employ it, and as skillfully one knows how to handle it, but it must be the language in which one has begun to babble the first thoughts, and in which one is accustomed to treat the tritest and the most sacred affairs of life.

For this reason the Latin love songs of the Humanists, if compared with the German folk songs, likewise devoted to love, were no more than withered blossoms beside the brilliant flowers which exhale sweet scents and promise luscious fruits. There was still another thing. Erotic poetry easily becomes too real in its demands. Therefore it is likely to make the poet a sensualist and to excite frivolity in his readers. If it did this, it justified the reproaches which the opponents of Humanism raised against poetry, and jeopardized the effectiveness and favor of a whole tendency. To avoid such danger, the German Humanists, much as they preferred to emulate the Italian example, left obscenity to the Italians (*spurcitiem Italis linquito*), as old Peter Schott had admonished in a poem against the Italianizing Germans, and turned to other subjects and domains.

But the religious poetry, which had a closer connection with the love poetry than one frequently

assumes, for it was always a woman who was praised in ecstatic verses, did not show the highest stage of perfection. The verses were equally far removed from the tender fervor of medieval ecclesiastical songs and from the manly vigor of the church songs of Luther and his companions, which inspired a whole people. They suffered also from the fault of many products of the Humanistic epoch and the relish of empty verbosity; they showed clearly that they were written to follow the fashion of love songs, not because they had sprung from an inner impulse.

Few were so honest as Hermann von Busch who, besides composing three hundred verses upon Mary, wrote poems on certain martyrs, and confessed that he did so chiefly because he saw other poets similarly engaged. Lack of character and empty phraseology resulting therefrom decreased the moral value of the religious poems; their esthetic worth was impaired by the blending of the sacred and profane, antique and Christian faith, which was conspicuous in all poems. When Jacob Canter (*der Friesier,* the hairdresser, as he called himself), member of a prominent literary family which was not only descended from the Agrikolas, but was closely befriended by them, composed Sapphic odes in honor of the Virgin Mary, he first selected a meter which, by virtue of its art, was unsuitable for the true expression of religious sentiments; but he became insipid when

he spoke of the venerated one as "Mother of the thunderer," (*genetrix tonantis*), and designated God as *princeps superum,* and opposed the light of heaven by the darkness of the underworld.

Jacob Locher, although condemned by Wimpheling as a heathen, composed Christian verses in which he denounced as raving mad those who found greater pleasure in the fables of the heathen than in the stories of the ancestors of Christ; but he praised God, the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, Mary, the chorus of the angels, patriarchs, apostles and evangelists, and all those who in ancient and modern times had striven and suffered for the Christian faith as martyrs, monks and nuns, priests and respectable widows, for their struggle and their sentiments. It was typical that he ended the preface to his work with the antique and pious formula, *Dii bene vortant,* and in his poetical closing discourse he addressed to the reader the hope that now he had shown that he knew how to make such poems, and therefore he trusted that the rancorous envy which had been so loudly voiced against him would be silenced.

One of the most prolific of ecclesiastical poets was Sebastian Brant. He was most sincere and his religious feeling surpassed his poetical ability. His Latin poems naturally divided themselves into two parts,—an ecclesiastical and a worldly one. These were mostly in distich and Sapphic meter, and

hardly left a saint without a verse. He, of course, began with Mary, who appeared again as the immaculately conceived and likewise conceiving. He dwelled with relish upon the saints Sebastian and Onuphrius, the namesaint of Brant who, according to a custom of the time, was venerated by a particular cult.

There were oddities in plenty, for instance, the comparison of the works of Onuphrius with those of Hercules, at which the mythological hero was ousted, for the latter had only won fame, while the saint had gained eternal happiness. There were banalities also, like the exhortation addressed to Mary, that she ought to show her breast to her son, so that the sight would dispose him to gentleness; and artificial trifles such as declaring that every strophe of an ode for the praise of the Carthusian order should end with the word *carthusians*. On the whole, however, liveliness and sentiment prevailed. In these poems the feeling of sinfulness found expression, and with it the consciousness of the divine grace and the cessation of that strict separation of the rich and poor, which causes so much injustice in life, the ardent conviction of the eternal connection between mankind and God. One believed the poet when he recommended the secluded life, the quiet renunciation, the pious exercises and heard with him the deep cry of distress for God's mercy coming straight from the heart.

It was no caviling, when he invoked the source of grace, *Mache, dass ich dir lebe,* (Do, so that I may live for you).

Not unfrequently Celtes is placed by the side of Eoban Hesse as of equal worth, but wrongly so, for he was not a distinguished poet, like the former. Hessus, born in 1488 and died in 1540, was made a member of the Erfurt circle at an early period; he felt best in the midst of the gathering and could hardly overcome his longing for it when at a distance. After its dissolution he preserved its picture in loving memory. Only in this circle did he seem inspiring and inspired, among gay companions and doing nothing. In other surroundings, as a teacher in Prussia, then the country of orders, or in Nürnberg, or as a professor in Marburg, he speedily relaxed. Through his marriage and a numerous progeny, and because of his drunkenness and irregular life, he fell into want and misery, which he sought to escape by the continuous mendacity with which he importuned his friends and patrons.

He was not fond of systematic activity, because he feared that the poetical flight of his ideas might be impaired. He pretended to be longing for an office, but fulfilled its duties badly when he obtained a position. Hessus was a Reuchlinist and Erasmian. But as a partisan he was not so fully devoted as he should have been; he always had his beloved ego before him, the least injury to which

would loosen any strong attachment and make his pretended faith waver.

Eoban Hesse possessed considerable metric talent. With him everything shaped itself easily into verse, and this facility brought him more fame than his poetry. His occasional poems were skillful and attractive, but frequently vague and full of phrases. He composed poetry to order and in expectation of pay, and through this means became insincere. His verses of description and tales, reports about little Erfurt local events, accounts of Prussia and Nürnberg, and a presentation of the Hessian-Württembergian war, were considered too inexact as historical-geographical works, and too much filled with stories of events as poems. His poetical translations, among which that of the Iliad and the Psalms were the greatest and most important, were free and tasteful elaborations, which betrayed a wonderful mastery of the Latin language and a fine understanding of the originals. These works, however, have for us today only the value of antiques, although they appeared in numerous editions and were immensely admired. They show at the utmost the external qualities of the poet, but not the inner ones; they are neither an independent composition of a new, nor an artistic use of an existing, material. Hesse's only greater poetical original work was the *Heroides*, letters of the saints, beginning with those of the Virgin Mary, and clos-

ing with those of the consort of King Henry II,—Kunigunde, who was pronounced a saint. They take their material from the Bible or the legends, and in the main serve to promulgate Christian piety in an ancient garb. Their value was essentially a literary-historical one. Nobody would edify himself nowadays with these works of poetry; the majority would only admire the ease of the verses and the boldness with which their author chose a Christian subject and praised it, in a period of antique cult.

Eoban Hesse possessed talents, but no character. In the gay enjoyments of life he led everybody; in the substantiation of his convictions he was behind the majority. He came into close connection with many noted Humanists, but withdrew himself as soon as he felt offended in his self-esteem, or when he feared an interference with his quiet ways. Erasmus, whom he had visited formerly with great enthusiasm, once ventured some gentle criticism upon his ways, and thereby committed an offense for which Hesse never forgave him.

He was in great sympathy with Luther, but had not a word to say about the Leipzig disputation and the papal bull of the ban. He declared himself for Luther when the Erfurters had taken sides with him. He did not want to spoil his chance with either party, so that he later got on well with the Protestants in half-Catholic Erfurt, and in the entirely

Protestant Nürnberg. He shrank from coming in contact with the enemies of evangelism, and could not find one word of praise for Nürnberg's faithful Protestantism. Neither did he possess political faith or national enthusiasm. In none of his works did he employ the German language—only one little German letter of his is known—his poems to the emperor were school exercises; and the patriotic verses with which he interspersed his occasional poetry were full of borrowed sentiments. Proof of his insincerity was shown in the fact that previously he had sung Sickingen's praise, but after the destruction of the latter, he extravagantly lauded the victory of the landgraf of Hesse over Sickingen. This playing about with the poetical kingdom conferred upon him in jest, his childish mendacities, in which he praised the actual patron at the expense of the past one, and his efforts to make his present misery appeal more strongly by the untrue representation of his former happiness, lowered him even in the eyes of sympathetic judges. His facile talent and winning manner earned him much appreciation during his life, as well as great admiration after his death, but they cannot blind us to his many shortcomings and defects of character.

Eoban Hesse was one of the chief representatives of the colorless and sentimentally poor eulogistic poetry, which was particularly common during the period of Humanism. It did not concern itself over

the dignity of the praised but, either in imitation of the fashion, for partisan reasons, or from base motives, lauded the leaders of a new tendency. Such gushing verses had been composed occasionally by all Humanists; hardly a work appeared in those times, that did not contain high-sounding words in praise of the author, of the publisher, or of the subject chosen by them. As the praisemongers were frequently ignorant of the subject, and the person on whom praise was lavished was indifferent thereto, the consequence was not only a cold appreciation for the time, but a speedy and complete change of front. As the Humanists did not know how to draw the line, either in praise or blame, it easily happened that the man who was celebrated as a hero today became a despicable cad tomorrow, or he who played the part of an enthusiastic champion of a certain cause in the appendix of some book, became the impassioned antagonist of the cause he had advocated in a previous volume. This happened to Adam Werner, when he supported the fight against the Immaculate Conception of Mary, defended by Brant, totally forgetting that in bygone days he had been a champion of Brant and his views. Hermann von Busch added sympathizing verses to the writing of the Cologne men, which could only be of anti-Humanistic nature, and thus disgraced himself and his party.

All this poetry was of very little worth in its

essential nature, but it was not unimportant as regarded form, and for the characteristic of Humanism as a whole, it had even high value. It may, therefore, be permitted to show, as an example, the extent and kind of this laudatory poetry. I choose Heinrich Bebel's *Opuscula,* in the edition of 1508. Thomas Wolf from Strasburg opened the chorus with unpretentious verses, saying the time was suitable to teach and that book printing facilitated this task for the teacher. Thereupon, Wolfgang Bebel, brother of the author, condemned the envious enemies of the latter and admonished youth to flock in numbers to the newly discovered sources of wisdom. In the name of youth Wolfgang Richard tendered his thanks for the work, in which he saw a new giver of light that would annihilate the darkness of barbarism. After he had received the thanks, he repeated in verse his idea that Roman speech had regained its old glory through Bebel. Uninfluenced by this, however, the following singer, the priest Ulrich, did not want to become a Roman, but was glad of his German nationality, and while he left to Romans and Greeks the praise of their poets, he wished as a German to celebrate his own heroes. Bebel's always faithful shield-bearer, Heinrichmann, chimed in and praised his master, the honor of the Fatherland, her pride and her glory. Well he knew that the light of the friend radiated all the more brightly in the darkness which enveloped

the enemy. Consequently, he could not talk severely enough of the barbarians. He admonished the Germans to fight against the enemies and prayed to God, "Smash, thou greatest Light of the Heavens, the madmen."

Presently, after the author himself had spoken of a Zoilus in the well known vigorous style of the Humanists, Heinrichmann and Wolfgang Bebel united in a sharp attack upon this opponent, when the former remarked that the enemy always remained at such a distance from the master, like the crab from someone walking ahead. But over these attacks the praise of the master was not forgotten. Georg Hermann lauded him as a poet and a teacher; Mich. Coccinius admonished youth to emulate the great example, and the whole Latin land would announce their praise; and Leonhard Clemens, a Presbyterian from Ulm, raised his voice to deplore barbarism, in very bad verses, and thought rather naïvely that he would write Latin better had the glorious man only appeared earlier. Such dithyrambs were in some measure justified in Bebel, who was a famous man, but they became ridiculous when they sounded in similar bombast for the insignificant.

Only a few avoided this attitude, for instance, Reuchlin, whose works,—with the exception of his comedies,—are mostly free from the panegyric of others, and who refrained from the chanting of

praise, at least the poetical one, of his contemporaries. There was on the whole a certain reaction against this indiscriminate glorification. Those who had just claims to be appreciated admonished the young people to moderation, but met with only slight success with their exhortations, since they themselves occasionally transgressed lamentably.

Besides the people, among whom many highly lauded sovereigns and professors have been previously mentioned, the towns were praised with particular preference.

"Dichtern ist eigen die Sitte, der Vaterstadt Mauern zu preisen,
Hoch zu erheben die Flur, wo sie erblickten das Licht."

so sang John Murmellius in a song composed for the praise of his native town, Roermond. This little Dutch town, which has less than 10,000 inhabitants at the present day, and was not a metropolis in those days, was celebrated here as a place whose name sounded over all the world, renowned through wars, before which Parthia in spite of its destruction of Crassus, and Greece in spite of her victory over Xerxes had to stand aside, and which was to be preferred to Milet and Tarent, on account of its mixture of simplicity and pomp. The praise of many towns and hamlets was sung in a similar manner, for the poets did not stop at lauding their native places, but it became a regular sport with some of them to pay homage to every town in which

they stayed for a longer or shorter period. This lent a commercial aspect to that kind of poetry and one soon noticed that the praise lacked the right kind of foundation. The poet did not thank his place of birth, nor the one where he had tarried long and had enjoyed benefits, but he brought himself into the notice of the council or the wealthy city fathers. By paying homage to the town, as he was about to enter it, he intended to prepare a pleasant and comfortable life for himself. Added to this lack of character and sound sentiment was the absence of individualization and localization, the same from which the letters and speeches of the Humanists were suffering. For instead of a really perspicuous description of the place, a true-to-life description of the history springing from real knowledge and genuine enthusiasm, a natural presentation arising from respect for, and personal sympathy with, their prominent citizens, was a conventional poetry, which lacked perception and the historical and personal life, and which, being barren of any feeling and only calculated for success, did not infuse any real sentiment into the reader. Every poet of the Humanist period was to be blamed for such sins, even the most eminent ones, like Celtes, were not free from it; some, however, one could describe as "archpoets," that is, those who could not pass a single town without making a panegyric on it.

If one desires to place on one side the great

prose panegyrics which, on account of their form, have to be separated from this relation,—for instance, Celtes's great panegyric on Nürnberg and Meinhard's dialogue about Wittenberg, which is important in a cultural historical respect,—even if they fit into our theory perfectly as far as subject and tendency are concerned, Hermann Busch is to be named as a poet who, never firm in his sentiments, always praised that town the most in which he happened to live, and from whose council he hoped to get a reward. His poem in honor of Leipzig may here be mentioned, and others in connection with it devoted to the same town.

Busch's poem, composed in the year 1504, was presented to the town council with a dedication in which was a record of examples of the munificence to their historians on the part of sovereign rulers and cities in ancient times, which liberality was recommended to the modern town for emulation. When the poem is read its flowing hexameters can be appreciated, but except for the repeatedly occurring "Lips," and the once mentioned "Plesa" (*Pleisse*), any other town than Leipzig could be thought of, so colorless was the whole poem. Nowhere was there an individual trait, nowhere a reference to persons living, or to contemporary events, —in short, there was nothing told with freshness and vivacity.

About twenty years earlier, presumably in 1483,

Conrad Wimpheling had presented his poems to the burgomasters, with praise for the town. (Busch was more classical;—he chose the consuls and senators). He outlined his task to himself, since he did not wish to speak of the town in general, but of the origin of the Meissner dynasty and university. He detached himself from mere prattle by the enumeration of several individual features, which compelled him to refer to certain facts. As a consequence, there was mention of some houses, which were more or less attractively described, a clock was depicted, a monastery, three gates were named, and at the " description of the Leipzig religion " mention was made of the efforts of the citizens to build a new Thomas school. One learned that three mayors and thirty-six counselors were at the head of affairs.

In a like manner the poet told the history of the university, in which, after giving a fragment of Bohemian annals containing particular praise of Charles IV, he dealt in great detail with the university of Prague, the emigration of many pupils and teachers to Leipzig, the colleges and bursen of the various faculties and nations, and the auditoriums and libraries. The poet concluded with praising the Holy Cross, and admonishing the students to devote themselves industriously to the acquisition of learning. He was not lacking in exaggeration, and interwove reminiscences of ancient days in his poem, but on the whole he gave an

attractive picture of a town and university during the period of Humanism and the Reformation.

The panegyric,—for the lyric poem of that period was of that type,—was joined by the vituperative poetry and, first of all, the comedy. The revival of the drama, particularly the comedy, was an effect of Humanism. The works of Terence and Plautus were again read with zeal and translated, but so coarsely that the beauties of the original were spoiled. The Latin drama, which was to attain great popularity in the course of the sixteenth century, sent out only its forerunners during the period of Humanism. Some of them may be sketched, because they indicate the various species of the modern comedy: those which strive to deride the opponent in order to avenge personal insults, and seek to draw a distorted picture of his personality and activity; those which, in the service of Humanism, promulgate the praise of this new mental tendency; and those which, regardless of controversial questions and others of the time, strove to produce only laughter and amusement.

As an example of the first kinds of poetry we may cite Reuchlin, who was called by Celtes and Hutten in a historical though not quite correct sense, the founder of the modern comedy. He scourged many vicious customs of his time in the *Scenica progymnasmata,* which also bore the sub-title *Henno,* after the hero of the play. The plot in its essentials was

borrowed from the French farce of *Maître Pathelin.* It is the story of the rascality of a valet who steals from his trustful masters, and who followed the advice of his advocate when the latter told him to pretend to be a deaf mute in court and to answer all questions only with "Ble." His counsel promised him an acquittal if he adhered to these instructions, but the valet paid his advocate in the same coin, when the latter tried to collect his fee.

In spite of his leaning to a foreign model Reuchlin knew how to mold the material into new form, and to add bright comments in alluding to actualities. Such allusions were the partly earnest and partly jocular sallies against the litigation mania among the lower classes, particularly the farmers, who did not accept as just the decisions of the judges, based as they believed upon the fees received by them. Much litigation was set on foot against the astrologers who, trading upon the credulity of the advice seekers, palmed off generalities upon them. They sounded mysterious enough, but did not signify anything. The comedy was a favorite play in those times. The dialogue was witty, the chorus lively and fresh, and a remark occurring in it was often quoted,—"The poor has nothing to fear as he has nothing to lose."

The second play had for its theme personal revenge against the Augustine monk Holzinger, the wicked adviser of Eberhard the Younger of Wür-

temberg. It was called *Sergius* or *Capitis caput,* the head of the head,—that is, the mere head which no more belongs to a man and is empty. The head was the skull of a wretch who, at first as a Christian, and then as a Mohammedan, had wrought evil in both religions, and was now carried through the land by a speculating owner, who praised it as effective and omnipotent until the gaping multitude recognized the truth, and the feeling of venerating awe was turned to violent disgust.

The comedy served the Humanistic ideas when it encouraged the cultivation of classic studies, and displayed with gentle derision or stern severity the shortcomings of a life without mental aspirations and of an activity without science. The sentiment in these comedies was always a sturdy one, though the artistic form was often very weak, as in the comedy by Bebel, but sometimes it was attractive and skillful, as in Wimpheling's *Stylpho.* The hero, who gave the title to the play, had returned from Rome to Germany as a courtier, and was provided with the papal title deeds to four parishes, two of which were to be realized at once, the other two after a brief time. He was strengthened in his expectations by the village parson, who had obtained his position, likewise without real merit and on the strength of similar recommendations, and went, conscious of his victory, to the bishop, although he had been warned by a friend of his youth, a poor

student, Vincentius, who had to struggle for his existence because he had nobody to patronize him. The bishop referred him to the school rector, from whom he was to procure a testimonial as to his education. He could not obtain the certificate, however, for his pronunciation was bad. His grammar was so deficient that he explained *dixo, dixis,* as the forms belonging to *dixit,* that he derived *narravcrunt* from *narvo, narvas, narvare;* furthermore, he answered the question of the interrogator: *Es to de legitimo thoro,* which he did not understand, with *Non sed sum Laudcnburga,* and when asked to explain what *sacramentum* was, gave the classic definition: *Est nobilissimum ydeoma ex fontibus, Græcorum ortum habens.* On the basis of the testimonial he was driven out, and since he could not get another situation, became in the end a keeper of pigs.

The poet concluded with the instructive epilogue: "What wonderful vicissitudes of fate! From courtier to clodhopper! The confidant of cardinals becomes a servant to farmers, the bloated braggart is debased, and the keeper of souls becomes the keeper of swine. Such a miserable end is the fate of ignorance." Vicentius, however, returned to college with the support received from his parents, zealously studied law, and became chancellor to the prince, then, with the assistance of the latter, a canon, and finally he was unanimously elected

bishop. He administered his office with prudence and tactful wisdom.

In contrast with these dramas of an instructive tendency there were comedies which were intended only to be jocose, and which approached lyric poetry, inasmuch as they also spoke of love and love's enjoyment. As a master of this kind of composition we may mention Christoph Hegendorffinus (1500-40). When talking of love's pleasures he indulged in much that was coarse, and did not shrink from obscenity. In the comedy *De sene amatore* he derided the love-sick old man, who did not wish to appear old although he felt only too forcibly the loss of his juvenile power. In the other, *Comoedia nova,* he talked of the amorous escapades of the young men.

The poet, in a vigorous defense of himself against the reproach of corrupting the youth, concluded with a chorus song by which he could only strengthen the reproach: "Now is the time for rollicking, later is the time for penitence; if you do not drink and sing, you will remain dull and sober, you sweet fighters for love." The tragedy in the epoch of Humanism is hardly spoken of. However, Jakob Locher, the bold pathfinder, wrote a tragedy "Of the Turks and the Sultan," in which he took much self-praise to himself, because he had "introduced to the Suabians this hitherto unwonted manner of writing." He sought to turn against his

enemies, but delivered himself more freely of patriotic and theologic declamations than of dramatic work,—even if he did call the five parts of this work "acts" and put chorus songs, at the end of the mainly prosaic and slightly poetical sections, which revealed the Humanistic poet, who was delighted with the beautiful form. None the less the attempt was instructive, since it showed what at that time was understood by a tragedy, and it gave us realistic views of the bygone past. In the first act, the figure of a woman, Faith, appeared, and described in a long discourse the damage inflicted upon the Christian religion and the Christian nations by the Turks, and called the rulers of earth, emperor and pope, to fight the terrible foe. But as the will of the powerful, and especially their unison which is necessary for such a stupendous enterprise, seemed questionable, the Christian peoples in the second act invoked God to bring about the necessary unanimity of minds.

This prayer seemed to have been heard, for in the third act the pope and emperor were conversing over the means to be employed when they received the news of the readiness of the sovereign princes and finished their deliberations so quickly that, at the close of the act, a messenger was ready to present to the Turks the declaration of war by the allies. Only in the fourth act did one learn of the official manifesto issued by the emperor and the pope, after

the reading of which the rulers of European and Asiatic Turkey debated about defensive measures and called their subjects to arms. The fight proper occurred in the fifth act. Fama announced the victory of the Christians, after a speech of the Christian army leader to the soldiers, and the triumphant procession of the emperor began.

There is no question as to the tragedy in the play. It was simply a poetical narrative of events with many lyrical passages, composed in difficult and rare meters. Messenger and chorus were the chief actors, time and space were dealt with most arbitrarily, and the whole was more of a fiction, clothed in a true sentiment of imperialism, than dramatic action. The play was given in the presence of the emperor, and later dramas were similarly honored. One of these likewise treated of the Turkish war, and staged for that purpose a sort of princes' congress, while the other contained a narrative of the Judgment of Paris, which was a good imitation of the mythological event, but both showed the same preponderance of the lyric element, and signified little or nothing for the development of dramatic art. We can attach to the latter poetry what the Humanistic literature possessed of epic poetry. It did not show real epos at all. The greater works of narration were left to the language of the people; what there was of historical poems were panegyrics based on the deeds of distinguished contemporaries,

and as remote from proper historical narratives as the panegyrist was from the truth-loving report, or else they were metric attempts, distinguished simply by their form from ordinary prosaic relations.

The only kind belonging to the epic poetry which was cultivated in those times, was the farce, which had acquired the right of classification with the Humanistic literature through Poggio. Two imitations by Germans, the one by Augustin Tuenger and the other by Heinrich Bebel have been dealt with. As the third, we shall contemplate the work of Ottomar Luccinius. He was less the satirist in his farces than a story-teller. He wished to supply entertaining literature and to reproduce the conversation of the society people of that period. The circles which he described, perhaps the only ones he knew, were those of the professors. He missed that popular tone which Bebel knew so well how to strike, as he was off the local color. Consequently he did not tell the experiences which he met on his travels, nor did he search for them in his native town. On the contrary, he reported dialogues and disputations, in which he was the most learned among the learned, and the wittiest among the witty. Furthermore, he wrote chiefly for professors, taking his stories principally from Greek and Roman, patriotic and biblical writings, and only occasionally from the modern raconteurs of farce. The difference between him and his predecessors in the art of narra-

tive was very great. In spite of the veneration which he pretended to have for his authorities, he did not show it in the necessary inner respect. Even in the presence of the saint he was unclean, perhaps less from real frivolity than from his indifference to the important questions of the time. Through his learning he was led into etymological triflings, and through his Philistinism to moralizing. As a true Humanist he interspersed his stories with verse, boasted with his friends and flattered his patrons. Occasionally he abused the ignorance of the sophists, but more seldom the overweening pedantry of the professors. He told with relish of the immoral acts of the clergy, and condemned astrology and wondermania.

The satire held close connection with comedy. The former might vigorously deride certain absurdities of the times, but the latter, born of a serious spirit, was to hold a court of judgment over fanatics and corrupt things. Both tendencies had their representatives in that period. The material satire, with a strong mingling of the personal element, had its classic model in the letters of the obscurants; the personal satire was used in the numerous controversies of the Humanists, both among themselves and with the common enemies. Frequently more proof was given of the boundless violence than of the poetical talent of the contending parties.

As an example of the artistically treated satire,

the works of Euricius Cordus (1486-1535) may serve. Cordus was a philologist from choice, a physician and medical author from necessity, and a theologian from enthusiasm for Luther, due more to the power of the Reformer's personality than to the correctness of his teaching. He was a satirist by profession. In one of his writings, he described himself as a "sincere open and simple heart, which has neither learnt to lie nor to deceive nor to pretend." And in one of his epigrams he said to himself: "You do not know how to flatter, nor to suppress the truth, and yet you are wondering why your books displease." With such remarks he typified his nature, for he was serious and stern. He only seemed to laugh at the wicked customs, while in reality he wept and mourned over them. He scoffed at the little and at the great. He laughed at the sanctimonious people who blamed the lewd old poets, but who with all their "enlightened Christianity" were not ashamed to covet all that had been described by the former. He made fun of the old ones who thought they remained young, the rich misers, the disorderly women, the ignorant and pedantic professors, the bad poets and the fraudulent advocates. He ranted in fierce speeches against astrology, whose midwife was insanity and whose mother was arrogance; against the corruption of the clergy and the sinfulness of the popes; against Rome as a hell-hole of crime, against abuse of

religion for ignominious profit, against the suppression of Germany by a foreign, and especially by an ecclesiastical power; against the tyranny of the great and their shameful oppression of the peasants, from whom he boasted he had sprung.

This individuality made his epigrams peculiarly attractive. As a rule he did not speak of the conditions in this life as if he faced them passively, but he treated of his own conditions or of his own views concerning the general whole. He blamed his enemies and praised his friends; he revered his wife who, even in want and illness against which she had to struggle, knew how to make his home a place of real happiness. The towns where he felt at ease, for instance, Erfurt, to whose animating and lively circles he belonged, appeared in a beautifully colored picture. Braunschweig, however, the sentiments of whose people were repulsive to him, he referred to as a town "where the sky is so dull and the air so thick that, although all over the earth the sun's rays shine, there is yet eternal darkness," and again as a town whose inhabitants could not be taught evangelism in any other way but by mixing it with their favorite beverage, the "Mumme."

Evangelism became more and more the great subject of his life. Humanism had to recede. Mutian, the god of all Erfurters, had to give way; Erasmus, the formerly highly praised, was pushed to the background because of his hostile attitude

toward the Reformation. To him Luther was the hero of the age,—the courageous fighter who, despite the perilous endeavors of his adversaries, with felicitous success inaugurated a new epoch of the purification of the world and the liberation of the mind.

The satirical poetry can be separated only with difficulty from the didactic poetry. At least in the German literature, contemporaneous with Humanism, the two tendencies merge in such a way that we can rank the previously mentioned "Narrenschiff" of Sebastian Brant, the chief work of the whole category, with one as well as the other. The didactic poetry was a great favorite with the Germans, beginning with the early Middle Ages. Their favor was enhanced by the relish which the whole Renaissance period experienced with this species, that appears to us so unpoetical. Consequently all possible varieties of people bestirred themselves to activity in that direction; professional poets made the so-called *artes metrificandi* guides for winning new adepts to their art, and the representatives of sterner science did not think themselves too good to talk in ornamental verses of their vocation. What is perhaps undertaken nowadays only by humorists, for the entertainment of their professional companions, was in those times the lifework of serious men; and certainly Eoban Hesse and Euricius Cordus, to mention only two verse experts out of

the multitude of those poets, thought to accomplish really meritorious work when they placed their laboriously acquired medical knowledge in poetical handbooks.

Through such attempts, which are numerous enough to deserve special notice, poetry was brought into so close a relation to science that it is fitting, after a description of the development of poetry, to contemplate the evolution of science.

CHAPTER VIII

A GLANCE AT THE DEVELOPMENT OF SCIENCE

THE reawakening of the ancient times, wherever it took place, had primarily for its object the zealous cultivation of classic philology. This zeal, at least in Germany, corresponded neither with the capabilities nor with the knowledge. For this reason, the study of the Latin language remained essentially confined to the one result,—which was, in consideration of the former period, a remarkable one,—that the real documents of the classic ancients were detached in an arbitrary and incorrect manner from the security with which the Middle Ages had surrounded them and were shown in their true aspect.

The independent works of the Humanists were slight and superficial, as we have shown elsewhere, because the researchers lacked the recognition of the rules of the language and the true insight in the development of same, and because the aim to which they aspired was wrong and unattainable.

The Latin language was joined by the Greek.

The veneration which the latter enjoyed was the same that one gave to the Latin tongue, but the knowledge of it was disproportionately smaller. As a matter of fact, in Germany, one reason did not hold good, which made the study of the language in Italy more difficult, that was, the jealous aversion to Greek, but other circumstances prevented its rapid spread. They were the greater difficulty of the language, the absence of a centuries-old tradition which had benefited the Latin language, and the rarity of instruction material and teachers. Instead of the many Greeks who were eager to teach and who, having emigrated to Italy, brought with them the mysteries of their language, there were only a few in Germany who had gathered a little from masters and teachers on their pilgrimage to Italy.

Among the men of the older generation, Reuchlin and Celtes stand almost as the only ones who thoroughly understood Greek. Both tried to render their knowledge useful to others through instruction and writings, partly with the aid of instruction books, partly through translations of Greek authors with commentaries, and partly through editions of single Greek compositions. These endeavors, even if they were slight, caused astonishment and admiration.

The efforts, however, were a benefit to the younger ones only; the older people kept themselves aloof from this foreign art, not from unwilling con-

tempt, but in realization of their own inability. Many of the men already named made confession of their ignorance. Wimpheling said: "About Greek I have no correct judgment as I have not learned this language in my youth; now, however, I could find suitable masters, if I like; Marcus Cato, possessed the ability to become a pupil in old age." Ulrich Zasius was one of the few learned Germans who showed a pronounced aversion to the Greek language. He proudly called himself a Latinist, but no Greek. Bebel, in one of his writings, in which he enumerated the examples of the ancients worth emulating, refrained from a judgment of the Greeks, as he was not conversant with their language; and Peutinger, when writing to Reuchlin, blushed because he did not understand Greek.

Whenever, in that first period, the attempt was made at a university to introduce Greek as a new study it could never be done without a fight with the sophists, that is, those who remained true to the old state of affairs. Such an experience was that of Dionysius Reuchlin, who was the first that taught Greek in Heidelberg. Nor did this materially change in the following decades. When, in 1509, the Basel book-printer John Amerbach issued an edition of the works of Hieronymus, and needed a man who could decipher old Greek handwriting, he turned to Reuchlin, and pleaded with the words: "If you leave me, I should not know anybody in

Germany who could help me." Even in 1528, Thomas Platter admitted that while he was receiving instruction by Mykonius in Zürich he stopped at Latin,—*Gracce unterwand er sich nicht vast, denn die Grickisch sprach was noch seltzam, ward wenig brucht.* (Greece he did not take up much, as Greek was yet strange and little used.)

None of the heroes of the Greek studies wrote a Greek grammar. There is a vague record of such a one by Reuchlin, and but one employed the instruction material used in Italy. The German printers did not have any Greek types until the end of the fifteenth century. An empty space was left for Greek passages which one wanted to quote, and even at the opening of the following century one could see monstrous miscarriages of Greek characters. The grammar of Priscianus is generally named as the first Greek book that appeared in Germany; it was issued in 1501 by the Erfurt publishers Wolfgang Schenk, (he called himself half-Greek and half-Latin), and Lupambulus Ganymedes. This volume was followed by several others in which Greek words and lengthy Greek passages sometimes occurred. After the textbooks were produced, the editions of the counter speeches of Aeschines and Demosthenes were published by Reuchlin, in 1522.

One of the favorite grammars, and at the same time a very old one, was that of Oekolampad (*Graecae literaturae dragmata*), which originated in

university lectures, and was printed at the request of friends. The book evinced diligent, though limited and unmethodical study. It was divided into three parts, the first and third of which dealt briefly with pronunciation and syntax, and the second treated very minutely of declensions and conjugations. It distinguished between five declensions and thirteen conjugations, quoted a few examples from the Greek authors, and refrained in some measure from the mania to display one's knowledge of Latin and Hebrew; but, like the contemporary Latin grammarians, made allusions to eminent persons of that class. Among the examples cited was Capnion (Reuchlin). The lexica, for instance, the one supplementary to the elucidations of Hermann Torrentinus, appeared in 1518, and was a Greek dictionary printed in Latin characters throughout. It was wholly elementary and teemed with errors.

More important than grammars and lexica were the translations. The translators used partly German and partly Latin, more frequently the latter. They were clever professors, not artisans; even the best Humanists did not think themselves too good for such work. Their intention was not to supersede the Greek authors, but to usher their ignorant countrymen into a domain hitherto unknown to them. Never did they entertain the idea of displacing the original, or of substituting for it

through the translation; on the contrary, one of the first of them expressed the opinion, which was certainly shared by others, "that every work had a better sound in the language in which it was composed, and that it was like those wines which, when changed from one barrel into another, lose their fine taste." Many of these translations were awkward; others, and the Latin ones particularly, sinned through an exaggerated struggle after elegance; the happy medium between slavish copying and a faithful reproduction of the sense was preserved by a small minority only.

The real prosperity of the Greek studies in Germany was brought about through the Reformation. Because of the constantly increasing interest in the Bible and the awakening and revival of the critical sense, attention was directed in a more marked degree than before to the originals of the sacred books. It was the same with the Hebrew studies. There in truth, the first text was rediscovered by Reuchlin, in the same way as the original version of the evangelists had been made accessible by Erasmus. To them, therefore, undisputably belonged the merit of the pioneer and the courageous advance, but the real exploitation of the studies belonged to the period of the Reformation. The strengthening of the religious sense, the greater abundance of useful teaching material, the introduction of the subject into the curriculum of the

university and, if only in a slight degree, into the higher schools;—these were the facts which not only facilitated the spreading of the studies, but made them possible.

In the Humanistic times one aspired to the full sounding name of a *trium linguarum peritus*. It was reckoned a triumph of the Humanistic thought when, in the year 1518, chiefly under the direction of Erasmus, the collegium Buslidianum was founded in Loewen, whose chief task consisted in the teaching of three languages. But Erasmus himself did not understand Hebrew, and the rest of the Humanists thought they had progressed far indeed when they acquired an approximate comprehension of Reuchlin's great instruction book.

Reuchlin had forerunners. The most erudite of them, although he often stumbled into the grossest errors, was Conrad Pellikan who, in 1501, wrote a little manual teaching how to read and understand Hebrew. He revealed in his interesting autobiography the method which he applied in the study of the difficult language. He read several Hebrew phrases (written in Latin characters) in an antisemitic writing of Petrus Niger, "The star of the Messiah," to which was added a literal translation.

In the appendix of the book, in the form of a primer, was given the Hebrew alphabet with vocals and points, and a number of words as examples. This furnished material for further study. Pellikan

jotted down the words, searched for similar ones, decided their meaning from those already learned, and perhaps tried to derive the explanation of others from their connection. It must be admitted that he fell into the oddest mistakes. For a long time he thought the letter which designated the article belonged to the root of the word, and regretted that the third person was found so often with the Hebrew verb, instead of the first as in Latin. However, in spite of much groping and with only the nights for study, he progressed so rapidly that the pupil soon became a master.

Among the teachers of the Hebrew language the most learned, if not the most respected, were the Jews and the converted Jews. Those who remained true to their faith were unquestionably the better educated, but they were difficult taskmasters even to the Christian pupils who cast aside their prejudice, because they lacked knowledge of the Latin language. The converted Jews who, through their long association with learned men, had acquired such knowledge, were unreliable and often not very well grounded in learning. Among the latter the most remarkable was Matthæus Adrianus, born in Spain and a physician by profession who, in the second decade of the sixteenth century, appeared in many towns in Germany,—Tuebingen, Basel, Loewen and Wittenberg,—as teacher of Hebrew. He was welcomed everywhere and as promptly rejected. He

possessed versatile knowledge, with a strongly developed self-consciousness, and was irascible but had free views on life and religious faith.

How highly he esteemed himself was shown in a Latin letter to Joh. Amerbach. This interesting and amusing document bristled with so many unpardonable mistakes against the most elementary rules of the Latin language that it would have disgraced the youngest pupil. In the letter he volunteered to correct the Hebrew passages which occurred in the Hieronymus edition. He claimed to be the only one in Germany who could do the work, and boasted of his writings, which to others were insignificant, and of his medical art, of which nothing at all was known. He demonstrated that he could develop good ideas and speak well in a speech, "to the praise of languages," the Latin of which, however, was not to his credit, but whose train of thought was certainly his property. In this speech he extolled the Hebrew language, with prodigious exaggeration: "The language of the immaculate nature, which had its beginning after the creation of the world," appeared natural to him as a Hebraist, but he did not deem the translation adequate, and insisted upon the necessity of studying the original sources. When, in speaking of Hieronymus, he claimed for himself and his people the same prerogatives which the Church father had demanded, and declared in support of his claim

"Hieronymus was a man, many things he knew, many things he overlooked, and often he was neglectful," his boldness of opinion did him honor.

Many attacks upon Adrianus, including the just quoted remark, which compelled him to quit Loewen, may have had their origin in the fact that those of the old faith could not forget that he was born a Jew, and they disapproved of his meddling with the Hebrew language. That others had to suffer similar reproaches in consequence of their devotion to their favorite studies, we learn from the evidence of another Hebraist, John Boeschenstein (1472-1532). This man, certainly one of the most learned, born a Christian and religiously inclined, was accused of many sins because of those very studies, and he had to bear the reproach that he was a Jew. It availed him nothing that he enumerated the well known Christian members of his family, the accusation still clung to him, and was not only repeated by contemporaries but by the later generation, who applied Luther's blunt description: "Boeschenstein was a Christian by name, but an arch Jew by deed." The man thus accused who was so free from the prejudices of the time that he said he would not deem himself ostracized even if he was a Jew, "dann ich wayss, das got kein person besonder ansicht" (for I know that God does not discriminate between men), recognized the deeper cause for such reproaches, and declared it in the

remark: "wir muessen entgelten der hebrayschen hayligen sprach" (we must make reparation to the holy Hebrew language).

The study of the German language did not bring such regrettable consequences to the learned man, but it must not be overlooked that against him was opposed the learned prejudice to the Hebrew student, as strongly as was the religious one. The majority of the Humanists deemed it beneath their dignity to write in German; and as they strove to conceal their German "barbaric" names behind the well-sounding Latin ones, they spoke the language of Rome instead of their mother tongue. Still, there were many who employed the German idiom for translations, and for treating such matters as belonged before the forum of the people. The translation literature, the classic founder of which, Nikolaus v. Wyle, has been described, showed an extraordinarily large number of works, many of them struggling so awkwardly with the correct expression that, in order to grasp their full meaning, it was necessary to compare them with the original. This was of high value, because it opened a new world to the person not conversant with Latin.

A poet so prolific and talented as Hans Sachs was indebted for nearly all his subjects to this translated literature. The authors who treated general matters, for the understanding of which a learned education was not necessary, employed the

German language in important cases, with excellent tact. It was not an accident that caused Reuchlin to write his *Augenspiegel* (Mirror of the eye) in German. It was an eloquent and bold defense of the free utterance of opinion, uninfluenced by any Church authority, "that also a layman could fathom theological subtleties"; and it was creditable in Hutten that he translated his Latin works, and began to write exclusively in German, as soon as he saw that the interest in the matter with which he occupied himself had penetrated far beyond the little circle of the learned men.

Meanwhile the German language itself became the object of scientific treatment. John Mueller, in his careful investigation of this question, distinguished three stages through which it had to pass, namely: the German became the medium for acquiring an understanding of the Latin vocabulary, then it was the means to gain a clear idea of the essentials in the Latin lessons, and finally experiments were made for laying the foundation of a scientific teaching apparatus of the German language. The first and third of these stages could be designated as pre- and post- Humanistic; the second properly belonged to the period of Humanism. German was used as the instruction language in order to render the Latin elementary grammer comprehensible, or observations were made concerning the German itself; in a special chapter comparisons were presented be-

ALBERTVS·MI·DI·SA·SANC·
ROMANAE·ECCLAE·TI·SAN·
CHRYSOGONI·PBR·CARDINA·
MAGVN·AC·MAGDE·ARCHI·
EPS·ELECTOR·IMPE·PRIMAS
ADMINI·HALBER·MARCHI·
BRANDENBVRGENSIS
SIC OCVLOS SIC ILLE GENAS SIC
ORA FEREBAT
ANNO ETATIS SVE XXIX
M·D·X·I·X·

tween the two languages, in order to facilitate for the pupils the translation from one into the other. Throughout the entire course of the investigation, consideration was given to the German as the mediating idiom. There were classic authorities for each of these two methods. For the one, the *exercitium pucrorum,* which existed from 1485-1506 in at least thirteen prints, and which was probably worked out by a Dutchman, possibly by a Dutch Humanist, influenced by Rud. Agrikola. For the other, the two grammars of Joh. Aventin (1512-17). The instruction book originating from Holland was of great value as the first attempt at Latin-German comparison, and remarkable for the reason that the embodiment of German was understood to be an essential part of the teaching in the Latin grammar.

The two grammars of Aventin were important because they gave the German expressions for all occurring Latin forms; still further, they placed German and Greek expressions by the side of each other, in order to prove the great affinity of the two languages. A complete German grammar, however, was not known during the period of Humanism, neither in the German nor in the Latin language.

The education of that period, much as it may have valued the learning of languages, was not exclusively a philological one. The occupation with

German alone was not only an indication of linguistic "hobbyism," but a result of patriotic ideas; love for the Fatherland begets and fosters the liking for its language.

This patriotic thought suggested the turning of the Humanists to the monuments of a past epoch, and the inauguration of their researches in the history of Germany. We have spoken frequently of such historical works; Tritheim and Wimpheling, Bebel, Peutinger and Cuspinian belong here with their investigations of Roman and medieval history, with their collection of documents, and revised editions of eminent historians, with their often more patriotic than historic declamations and their unhistoric falsifications. Among these must be included the single theoretical writings, for instance, Pirckheimer's translation of the Lucian Dialogue, "About the art to write history."

Nowhere, however, was the patriotic viewpoint, with its advantages and weaknesses, more conspicuous than in the *Exegesis Germaniæ* (Description of Germany) of Franz Irenikus (1495-1559), in the three books of German history (*Rerum Germanicarum libri tres*) of Beatus Rhenanus (1485-1547), and in Joh. Aventin's fine historical works.

Irenikus did not do much honor to his name (*Friedlieb,* lover of peace) through his demeanor. He was a quarrelsome man, ready for the religious fight as well as for the mental wrestle. His his-

torical work was a lively protest against all reproaches of the Germans by the foreigners, and a promulgation of the excellence of the Germans of the past and present. Irenikus praised their moral purity, glorified their mental greatness, their artistic gifts, celebrated their splendid history and basked in the glory of his emperor. The twelve volumes did not present a coherent history, nor real, homogeneously arranged contents. The first three books contained a synopsis of German antiques; the four following, a fragment of German history, but only for the first century of the Middle Ages; the last five were geographical description.

The author loved to indulge in ramblings; he liked to talk of his friends, and communicate their letters and poems; he tarried longer than the space in his book should have permitted over the history and genealogy of the palsgraves in whose territory he lived; he extolled the University of Heidelberg, to which he wished to dedicate his work as expressive of his devotion; and he felt best when he could talk in Latin of his beloved ancients. His style was not good. He was guilty of many errors in his researches and especially in his etymological essays, due more to his predilection for everything German than to his ignorance. Nor was he a distinguished critic for, in spite of the consciousness which filled him that only from the authorities could real knowledge be derived, he often dallied with

uncertainty, and was not fortunate in the choice of those in whom he confided. But the freshness which permeated the whole book, the joyful devotion to the subject as a national one, and his yielding to the glorious past of the German nation, was worth more than his supposed learning.

In these respects the work was unique, and much to be preferred to the one stimulated by that of Rhenanus, a highly respectable member of the Alsatian Humanist circle, although the latter was more learned, more profound, more critical and more homogeneous than the other. While Irenikus occupied himself preferably with German antiquity, Rhenanus devoted himself almost exclusively to the German Middle Ages, investigated in a number of treatises,—for he refused a serial presentation,—geographical and historical matters, law court conditions and language, and everywhere displayed eminent knowledge and remarkable clarity. Primarily he was a researcher of the antique, and only secondarily was he a patriot, consequently he did not allow his critical sense to be dimmed by his patriotism. He admitted, contrary to his narrow-minded countrymen, the fact that the Gauls had formerly ruled over Germany, and smiled at the unscientific attempts at the explanation of German names from foreign words, while on the other hand he went too far in the derivation of German family names from similar words, and repudiated the then

universally believed hypothesis of the Trojan origin of the Franks.

He excelled as a conjectural critic; that is, he improved the handwritings and prints of the ancient authors used by him, on the basis of his knowledge of the early languages, but he was also historical in his strictures. He exposed the so-called false Berosus, the historical work of Giovanni Nanni which appeared in 1498, under the name of Berosus. He was a true Humanist in his patriotic spasms, which frequently overcame him in the midst of the driest researches. In his admiration of the authors of ancient times he quoted from them, even when they were absolutely remote from his purpose in view, and did so simply to maintain a connection with the beloved dead. His hatred of the monks was consuming, and he branded them as the representatives of ignorance, the votaries of freakish dreams and, therefore, the enemies of real history.

Such a Humanistic attitude belonged also to the peculiarities of the greatest Humanistic historian, Joh. Aventin (1477-1534), the grandmaster and prince among German historical writers, as grateful descendants have admiringly called him. Goethe said, "He who knows the human heart and the course of education of the individual will not dispute that it is possible to bring an excellent fellow up in a solid education without using another book than Tschudi's Swiss or Aventin's Bavarian history." It

must be admitted that this statement was exaggerated, but it involves a great truth, namely, that in Aventin's works of history a true-hearted man reveals himself with real feelings, sufferings and joys.

The two great historical works of Aventin, the German written *Bavarian chronic* and the Latin composed *Annales Bojorum,*—the many smaller ones we need not refer to in this book,—neither impress by their richness and novelty of contents, nor by their artistic construction. One knows all the subjects from other works of history, so far as they were builded upon the older sections, the ante-Christian and Middle Age period, and the arrangement left much to be desired, for frequently heterogeneous matters were told in a confusing manner. The significance of these works consists in the way in which Aventin contemplated history and in the execution of his high purposes.

The writing of history was to him a sacred and serious task, a " special gift of the almighty, benevolent, Heavenly Father," for which he felt an inward call and prepared by earnest study.

The purpose of history is a moral and political one: " recognition of the necessities and duties of man for the present and the future. If it seeks to fulfill this purpose it must serve truth, which neither regards the object nor the person. Therefore, Aventin harbored feelings of hatred and de-

clared them openly. He detested the clergy, whom he advised all to avoid as wolves, and he thought them capable of every vice. But he also knew love, and spoke of it without reserve. He loved Germany, not only because it was his home, but because it was the heir to world rulership, the first and last monarchy of the prophecy of Daniel, upon whose continuance depends the duration of the world." And, loving Germany, he criticised its wicked habits and customs, the weakness of the emperor and the discord of the sovereign princes. Aventin reminds us of his Humanistic predecessors and companions, in that he could not describe the German past gloriously enough, and he often transfigured its history and conditions by a highly exaggerated patriotism.

In many respects he was behind the Humanists. He was neither as learned as they, nor did he possess an equally critical mind. What they had contested, the fable of the Trojan of the Germans and the false Berosus, he accepted as true. He did not hesitate to put speeches into the mouths of persons of the ancient or Middle Age period which were full of allusions to the time in which the author lived.

In contrast to the joyful optimism which filled the easy going, mostly juvenile companions of Humanism, he was the gloomy pessimist who expected little enjoyment and pleasure in his own life and did not regard the developments around him in a rosy light.

But he was superior to the Humanists in the fact that he wrote in German, although he had a classical education, and endeavored, to preserve the appearance of erudition even on unsuitable occasion. He strove to use the German language in its purity and popular form, so that it was intelligible to everybody. On one occasion he said: "For our orators and authors, who also know Latin, bend and twist our language in speech and in writing, mix it up and adulterate it with Latin words, render it unintelligible by many circumscriptions, and even get altogether into the Latin ways in writing and speaking, all of which should not be."

These words constituted an acknowledgment on the part of Aventin that he belonged to the people, a fact shown even more clearly when with all candor he held the representatives of the higher ranks of society responsible for the sad conditions of his time. He pointed contemptuously to them "who seek wealth, power and honors through the sweat and blood of the poor pious and innocent people. For everything that the great lords do and do wrongly the poor man has to suffer himself and sacrifice his all, and verily, as many golden chains, rings, silks and velvets that are worn, as many subjects have to perish for it." He was truly a man of the people and of liberty. But this freedom he did not claim for himself alone, but for all. He demanded that to a "free people not thoughts alone

but also speech should be free; as a man feels in his heart, so should he be allowed to talk."

Geography was closely connected with history in those times. The patriotic thought was working for the development of this science, the pleasure of knowing and describing the beauties of the German country, its fertility and its wealth, and it was influenced by the discoveries of that epoch. The historians also were mostly geographers, for instance, Irenikus in his above-mentioned work, or Joachim von Watt (Vladianus), one of the most versatile among the Humanists of the time,—Humanist, philologist, theologian, historian, physician and politician.

In his historical-geographical works, Aventin liked to start from his native town, St. Gallen, to which he belonged to the end of his life, after he had been kept away from it for a long while through his studies, and which he knew how to describe in a lively and attractive manner with the love of the patriot, but also with the truthfulness of an impartial observer.

Already, in the writings of Heinrich Loriti, there had been mention of America. The grand discovery of a New World did not make the tremendous impression upon the German Humanists that it did upon the learned men of other countries, such as Italy and Spain. The reason for this strange fact was that Germans had participated very slightly

in those epoch-making voyages, and their Humanists had rather estranged themselves from the commerce and traffic of other nations. Naturally they could not sufficiently appreciate the significance of so stupendous a geographical discovery. When Tritheim said in a letter (1507) that he did not have enough money to buy a map of the world for forty guilders, and that he would never allow himself to believe that a map of the world was worth so much, he revealed the limited views of the Humanists, many of whom resented the destruction of the old perception of the world.

It must be said, however, that a reaction against such ideas emanated from Humanistic circles and it was a triumph of scientific conviction when Vadian (1518) exclaimed: "In the opinions about the positions of the world, one has to trust more the modern authors who observe with an unobstructed view, than the reports of the old ones." More than a decade before, the accounts of the travelers had appeared in German and Latin, both the letters themselves and a description taken from them. The former were published in Latin in 1503 and in German in 1506, and had brought the fame of Christopher Dawber (Columbus) to Germany. The latter was written by Martin Waldseemueller (Hylacominus) and was an interesting book despite many inaccuracies, also an important one historically, as it was the first, and the one which caused

the great injustice of giving a name immortalized by the sentence in it, " the fourth part of the world may be fittingly called America like the land of Amerigo (Vespucci) as it has been discovered by him," and thereby he took upon himself and his epoch the guilt of ingratitude.

Thus the Germans, not being themselves a people of discoveries, contributed to communicate the result of other men's achievements to their contemporaries. Some of these revelations had a stimulating effect upon the Spanish and Portuguese explorers. Martin Behaim, (1459-1506) the Nürnberger, gave great help to the navigators and the public. He and several Germans presented the exploits of others through their maps and globes. Of necessity they were imperfect but they added vastly to geographical knowledge.

However, the recognition that geography was a scientifically natural discipline was not generally accepted during the epoch of Humanism, but the close connection which in reality existed between the two sciences justifies us, after having mentioned the geographical attainments in glancing at the development of natural history.

The essential enrichments which this faculty received did not flow entirely from the sources of sound and sensible observation, but rather from an accurate exploitation of the ancients, who were regarded as the only or, at least, the chief advisers.

That this was the fact, may be shown, as we shall not attempt to give a whole history of the sciences, but will take a cursory glimpse of botany and mineralogy.

An Italian Humanist, Ermolao Barbaro, had rendered great service to natural history, particularly to botany, by trying to restore an amended text of Pliny and inaugurating a translation of the Greek botanist Dioskorides, and adding corollaries in five books, that is, elucidations gathered from other ancient authors, to the plants dealt with by the former. This method remained from the first the deciding one for Germany.

To the same Greek author also turned the critical and explanatory activity of the Count von Neuenaar, and Euricius Cordus, better known as a satirist, leaning toward Dioskorides, gave the nomenclature of all the plants treated by him. If only the botany of the ancient was cultivated in such works, in others were combined deep knowledge with independent observation. Finally these means were used as the exclusive source of instruction, in accordance with which Otho Brunfels gave 229 pictures of plants which he had studied himself, but which he also endeavored to verify in Dioskorides.

Hieronymus Bock was the first man really to describe herbs and plants in detail, and to give accurate data concerning the places where they were

found. He tried also to perfect their systematic classification according to their relation, after he had rejected the faulty alphabetical enumeration of them. Like those and some later students who were stimulated through the aspirations and achievements of those named, we may classify another Humanist among the fathers of German botany,—Georg Agrikola (1490-1555), who delved deeply into natural history from the studies of the ancients, and was called the creator of all modern European mineralogy. For the first thirty years of his life he was a philologist, and later, after his return from Italy, which to him was the real land of culture, he became a mineralogist. As such he never wholly abandoned his critical philological tendency, but loved to investigate the mineralogical claims of the ancients in such a way as to compare them with the knowledge of his day. The most important of his writings were the one in which he gave the foundation principles of a physical geology, and that in which he provided the first complete and systematic description of the minerals, classifying them according to color, transparency, taste, smell, hardness and external shape. He discussed their economic use and named the places where they were found. He was indebted to his own researches for a large part of his knowledge. By embellishing his chief work with fine wood engravings, he added to the clarity of his description. Agrikola was not a professor at the

green table, but a scientist who took an active part in the movements of the time, and he remained faithful to the Church during the violent religious agitation, thereby bringing serious trouble upon himself.

In connection with the descriptive natural sciences we may give a few words to mathematics and medicine.

For the latter, as in the study of natural history as a whole, "the regeneration of the text from the old sources created the first beginnings of a better recognition of nature." Thus a later historian of medicine expressed himself, although the welcome suggestion was not followed by any marked achievements. Perhaps the revival of the old sources did not harm the sound development of science, inasmuch as the authority of these proven leaders made independent observation on the part of the moderns superfluous or, at least, pushed them to the background. For instance, two remarkable facts showed the trend of the medical study of that day: the university study of the science remained essentially a philological one, and the Humanists, who had during their university time held rigidly aloof from medicine, turned to it later as a profession, for the sake of earning a living. With such a preparation the result could not fail to be very inadequate. Because of this there were many loud complaints on the part of the proper medical

men over the unscientific attainments of many physicians. A dean of the Vienna faculty once declared that the *doctores medicinæ* held bad lectures, and were without knowledge, but full of vanity and quickness to quarrel. Another declared that his colleagues deserved to be "chased out." The complainants, however, were by no means quarrelsome youths, but quiet and serious men who held a respectable position in science.

Much more important progress was made in mathematics and astronomy, in the period of Humanism, than in medicine. A leading cause for this was the epoch-making works of Joh. Mueller of Koenigsberg (Regiomontan 1436-76). Giovio said he was venerated as the most excellent of all astronomers that had lived before him, and was an example worth emulation by the German Humanist because he had appreciated and zealously cultivated the philological studies. The patriots were proud of him because, as a German, he helped to destroy the prejudices which clung to that name, while the moralists were very jubilant since they wanted to prove by his example that morality and science are inseparably connected with each other. Mathematicians and physicians in those times were almost wholly devoted to the fake science of astrology.

Joh. Stoffler of Justingen (1452-1531) was the head of the astrologers of his day. He was also a teacher, popular physician, mathematician, as-

tronomer, cosmographer, mechanician, theologian and Humanist. He hailed from Ingolstadt University, "a glorious high school which has been my sweet mother in the free arts," had become a parson in Justingen, after acquiring much versatile knowledge, and had resolved only after long pressure by the duke of Württemberg, "as he did not want any more than these good parishes," to accept a professorship of mathematics and astronomy in Tuebingen (1511). There he began "to teach willingness and to learn with zeal." He possessed the proper professorial temperament, never thinking himself the finished product, but always ready to preach the unfinished. He taught and wrote, made clocks and calculated calendars, and tried to reason out past things and to predict the future. He was guided in his aspirations by real religiousness, and liked to describe himself as a "knight of the Church of Jesus Christ." In his lectures he spoke with the greatest humility of the divine ways, the influence which he invoked upon the youth.

This pious sentiment clung to him in his astrological speculations, for the stars were ruled by divine ordinance. He claimed that they guided the mental development and the health of man. Well he knew that such assertions would draw a smile from most physicians and provoke the theologians. He strove to pacify his opponents through his religiousness, and he talked amiably to the medical men in the

sentence: "Es soll auch Niemand achten, dass ich mein Sichel wolle austrecken in einen fremden Schnitt, welcher meinen Herren Aerzten und nicht mir befohlen ist, denn ich dies gebe zu bessern und zu strafen." (Nor should anybody heed that I would want to put my scythes into another man's cut, which behooves the physicians and not me, but I do it only to improve and to punish.) In spite of this disclaimer he gave medical prescriptions, fixed the time for taking the doses, and for the beginning of certain cures, and did not appeal to the learned men with such explanations, but to the laity in German prose treatises, and verses, like the following:

"Kein Blut will ich von mir nit lon
Denn es nit gsund in diesem Mon."

These did not produce a particularly favorable opinion of his poetical talent. According to his belief, the starry constellations influence not only the well-being of the individual, but the fate of the whole community; and the task of the astrologer consisted in calculating the position of the stars, and in preparing the individual as well as the nation for what was coming. By giving his friends a horoscope, that is, by revealing the position of the planets at the time of their birth, the astrologer became in a way a prophet.

Stoffler's activity in this respect was much in demand, but he gained the greatest fame through

the following prognostication for the year 1524, which he embodied in his *Ephemerides,* published in 1499: "In this year there will neither be eclipses of the sun nor moon, but there will be visible very remarkable constellations of the moving planets. For in the month of February there will be 20 conjunctions of the smallest, the small, and the great ones, of which 16 have the sign of Aquarius, which would signify undoubted change and upheaval almost all over the entire world, the climate, of the rich, in the provinces, in the towns, in the animals of the earth and of the water, yea, in all creatures of the earth, and in such a manner as has never been experienced by old people, nor even been described by historians for centuries. Raise ye, therefore, your heads, ye Christian men."

This prediction which was made so assertively, with a half-scientific tinge, produced a tremendous impression upon his credulous contemporaries. The 25th of February, 1524, was universally dreaded as a day of grave disaster, and by some as the day of final reckoning, or the beginning of a second deluge. Pious theologians attempted to point to the wicked encroachments upon divine world-rulership, and astrologic rivals ridiculed the correctness of the statements. To these Stoffler replied truly, that he had spoken neither of inundations nor of the doom of the world, nor had he named a single individual, nor certain countries. To the charge of the

theologians he retorted that he distinguished between a first and a second cause: the first was God's and was hidden from the human eye; the second indicated the events through which God worked; of the latter man was permitted to speak and try to fathom them.

It need hardly be said that the year 1524 passed without bringing the momentous events predicted. The remarkable fact was that in spite of his ridiculous failure Stoffler's prestige remained unimpaired. There were people even who described the great Peasants' War of the year 1525, the signs of which appeared in 1524, as the great event foretold by the astrologer.

Astrologers, as Stoffler's example teaches, were by no means always unscientific fools, but were frequently philosophical dreamers who, having strayed in the wrong direction, through much thinking, believed they had found unmistakable pathfinders in the stars. They were in closer relation to the philosophers than one at first glance would assume.

The epoch of Humanism did not produce any great philosophers. Despite the many facilities given at the universities for the study of philosophy, little progress was shown in comparison with the Middle Ages. So it was left as an unscientific explanation of the old instruction books, and a wordy and superficial elucidation of philosophical notions. The only fruit which matured through Humanism

was the return to the ancients, and in consequence the conspicuous consideration given to Cicero and Quintilian, and the elevation of Plato above Aristotle. The last resulted from a somewhat dependent leaning upon Italy and came without any struggle. As a fight was waged against Alexander de Villa Dei in grammar, so in logic and dialects the work of Petrus Hispanus was attacked, but the action against these "barbarians," as they were called by the zealous Humanists, was neither universal nor successful enough to defeat those assailed. When the Humanists wrote instruction books, like Agrikola, they were not so fortunate as to survive the introduction of them in the university. It was a fact that, twenty years after Agrikola's death, one of the scholastic primers of Tartaretus was used as the basis for the teaching of philosophy at the newly founded university of Wittenberg.

Among the philosophers we may name Gregor Reysch, not because he was the most eminent, but because he wrote probably the most voluminous work, "The first philosophical Encyclopedia." This book, *Margarita philosophica,* showed best the strange philosophical notions prevailing in those days. Philosophy was the quintessence of science as a whole. Therefore, as belonging to it and treated in this quarto volume, which contained over 600 pages and was called by the author

a *quantitate quidem parvum,* notwithstanding its size, with the addition of *Continentia immensum,* were the following: Latin grammar, art of letter writing, arithmetic, music, geometry and astronomy; specific philosophical sciences; logic, rhetoric, moral philosophy and natural history. Under the last name were chiefly taught the basic principles of natural history. In moral philosophy was embodied a large part of theology; he treated of the soul in long discourses, and blamed the "madness of the Manicheans, that the soul was part of the divine substance"; the existence of a purgatory was proved against the Greeks from the Scriptures. If such a procedure reminds us of the medieval manner of dealing, there were other things which bore the individual stamp of Humanism. In one chapter the doctrine of the immortality of the soul was proved by the words of Plato; in a subsequent chapter it was supported by evidence from the Scriptures, as if the Bible was attached only as an auxiliary to the main force. The collateralness of scholasticism and Humanism was conspicuous throughout the whole work, and showed itself in the contents, in the style,—in which the desire for classicism visibly struggled with the purpose to preserve the deeply-rooted antique,—and also appeared in the numerous illustrations which were scattered throughout the whole book.

Aristotle was the undisputed master in philosophy

proper, no other author being quoted so often as he. This was always in the Latin language, although in the later editions of the volume Greek types were used, but they were hardly readable. Of the Church fathers, Augustin seems to have been the favorite author. It is difficult to gain an idea of the fullness of the contents of this work: pedagogic questions were treated, a fragment of physiology was given, and lengthy discourses upon the astrological science of imagination alternated with brief allusions to juristic subjects. The whole, divided in conversations between the teacher and the pupil, culminated in the praise of genuine wisdom as opposed to counterfeit knowledge.

At the same university as Reysch, in Freiburg, toiled Ulrich Zasius, the reformer of jurisprudence, (born 1461, died 1535).

The work of a Humanistic jurist was facilitated by the acceptance of Roman rights in the law courts, and its introduction into the universities; but it was handicapped by the bitter enmity which the Humanists harbored against jurisprudence and its representatives. Wimpheling once said, he had turned away from jurisprudence after a short study because "too little I found in the text together with the glossary, of God, of the angels, of the human soul and its potentialities, of virtues, of life and death, and of the sufferings of our Saviour; on the other hand however, all the more of prebends

and office dignity, of processes, judges, litigations, endless tribulations in contested cases, and of protractedness at hearings,—all things which, it must be said, bring in a lot of money, but things which are repellent to my inward nature." And Reuchlin chimed in by speaking derisively of the shallow art of the law, "which, bought at such a great sacrifice, is thought more than divine by the advocates, but which is lower than any trade to him whose aspirations are after exalted things, and not after the accidental and the paltry. For what ornament, what dignity could be in a study which clings to the definition of single points and letters, how can one respect a science, in which everybody thinks to find an argument in favor of his rights and claims, and from which one endeavors to draw pecuniary profit? Is it, then, something great, to know the name of every paragraph, and to apply it in every case? Does not the apothecary deserve the same appreciation, for knowing ointments and other medicines for every disease, or the shoemaker, who knows how to measure every foot? For right, after all, is only what man wants; the judges, weak men pass the sentence, they, who can be bought for a favorable verdict by flattery, bribery, and glib talk."

The satirists showed similar acrimony. For instance, Brant and Erasmus, who said it was easier to go three times through a juristical examination

than once through a grammatical one; Euricius Cordus, who recommended to a young friend who desired to become a jurist to learn nothing, but only to talk, to lie and to deceive; and Ulrich von Hutten, who could not forget that he had to sacrifice part of his youth to the study of law, and who now complained about the "accursed Absynth" which he had to drink, about the "kimmerische" darkness in which he was languishing, and by accusing the merchants, physicians, and especially the jurists, of being robbers who impoverished and ravaged Germany, praised as happy the Saxons on the Baltic sea, "because they were sound in body and spirit, and living in the old customs and the old simplicity, they did not tolerate any physicians, nor lawyers."

Ulrich Zasius pronounced a similar judgment, for he also was a Humanist. For several years he conducted the Latin school in Freiburg and later became a teacher of jurisprudence. He was the first German who dared to attack the foreigners, especially Italians and Frenchmen, in their explanation of Roman lawbooks, and one of the first Humanists who made use of antique studies for the elucidation of authorities. He directly caused the printing of the great law collections, institutions, pandects, etc., which was inaugurated at Nürnberg in 1529-31, by G. Holoander, with the support of the town council.

CHAPTER IX

JOHANNES REUCHLIN

IN almost all the domains of science which received a first or a renewed scientific treatment in the period of Humanism, Johannes Reuchlin was well versed. He was the much celebrated "Phoenix of Germania" who, in unison with Erasmus, was praised as the "Eyes of Germany." By profession he was a jurist,—he called himself all his life "legum doctor" (doctor jur.)—and was for many years an advocate in Stuttgart, and for more than a decade one of the three supreme judges of the Suabian federation. He is said to have written juristic tracts. By some translations from Greek authors he touched upon the realm of natural historical medicine. For he was a master of Greek and one of the few who spread this language, through rather insignificant writings and by means of private and public lessons. Many called themselves his pupils before he ever taught publicly, and when in his old age, he acted as an academical instructor in Ingolstadt and Tuebingen, this activity was made known far and near, and welcomed as an

epoch-making event. The surname which he gave himself was Greek,—"Capnion" (little smoke, Reuchlin), which, however, he seldom used except in some letters and in a scientific work, but which he liked to be called by his friends and adherents.

Reuchlin was considerable of a Latinist though not with an elegant style, but he was a thorough connoisseur of the Roman authors. In his youth he had written a lexicon (*vocabularius breviloquus*) which, if it did not found a new epoch of etymological science, eliminated many monstrosities of medieval Latinity and, above all, established as the foremost and irrefutable principle the return to the genuine authorities of the ancient times.

In the scientific works of his mature age, and in his letters Reuchlin used the Latin language in such a way that he did not merit the name of a Ciceronian, which he did not claim. He belonged to the Humanists who always used their German names, without adding even any Latin ending to them. He loved the tongue and employed it with power and skill in some translations that were made for uneducated princes, and in the writings, advice, expert estimates and defenses wherein he addressed his imperial commissioner and spoke to the people on some general matters. He busied himself with history, and when in Heidelberg edited a chronicle arranged according to the four ages of the world. This has been described as the first Humanistic book

of history, and was composed as an introduction to the great chronicle of his countryman, Joh. Naukler. He was also a poet, measured by the modest tape which the Humanists were wont to apply, but he did not squander his time with panegyrics. He composed the two previously mentioned comedies which, though imperfect as poetical compositions, were remarkable contributions to the history of the time.

Reuchlin gained his chief fame through his philosophical and Hebraic works. In both he had the assistance of learned Jews, and the aid of the Italian Pica della Mirandola, who was called by him, in grateful appreciation, "the wise count, the most learned man of our age."

He combined the result of his studies into two great works. One carried the title, *Vom wunderthaetigen Wort* (Of the wonder working word),—(*de verbo mirifico,* 1494), and the other, *Von kabbalistischer Kunst* (Of the cabalistic art),—(*de arte cabbalistica,* 1517). The former was to be taken as a preparation for the latter. The authorities of both were the same, namely, the Greek new-Pythagorean philosophers, and the Hebrew-cabalistic literature of the Middle Ages. The *cabala,* in which Reuchlin absorbed himself, following the Italian Humanists, was the Jewish secret doctrine which, originating in after-biblical times, had been propagated at first verbally, and since the twelfth

century in writing. It early found an entrance among the Christians. It sought chiefly to solve two questions, to which the Bible had not given answers satisfactory to the thoughtful mind. One was the nature of the Divinity, and the other the story of the creation of the world. With the cabala, so Reuchlin asserted, the new-Pythagorean doctrine was closely related, because Pythagoras had learned from the Jewish wise men. The nature of the two teachings was by no means that of magic and astrology, nor of any mystic art, but solely the elevation of the human mind to God, the transfiguration of earthly life and the preparation for eternal happiness.

The wonder-working word, the power of which was to be demonstrated in the first book, was the "Tetragrammaton," the four-lettered, unpronounceable name of God, "Jhvh," "that incomparable description not invented by man, but only confided to him through God, a sacred and highly to be venerated name, which applies to God especially in the original religion, the Almighty whom the supernatural adore, the underworld fears, and the nature of the universe kisses."

This word established the connection between the finite man and the infinite God, unified the conceptions of the various sub-orators of the book opposed to one another, of the heathen Sidonius and the Jew Baruchias, of whom the one asserts that

sensual observation, and the other that meditation is the only source of experience, while Capnion, the third sub-orator, held with both sources.

The reason why such a significance was attributed to the wonderful word was because each of its letters had its cryptic meaning. The first letter, "J," in its shape a dot, in its numerical value equal to 10, signified the beginning and end of all things; the second letter, "H," as figure 5 represented the unification of God (Trinity) with nature (Dualism according to Plato and Pythagoras); the third letter, "V," numerical value equal to 6, was the product of the unity, dualism and trinity; the fourth letter, the same as the second in this position, signified the soul, which was the medium between the unity and the sacred figure 10.

Further elaborations were to prove, in this explanation of names, that there was an allusion to the unification of the Christian and the Jewish doctrine, a mysterious bringing of the Christian mysteries into the Jewish name of God. The name Jesus (Jhsvh) was a simple augmentation of the tetragrammaton by one letter, S, which in Hebrew served for the formation of the words: sacred fire, sacred name, sanctified water. According to this the name Jesus, with the Christian doctrine following naturally, is the culmination of the philosophical education of the world.

The task of the second work was first to prove that the teaching of the Messiah which was not properly understood by the Jewish explainers,—although previously announced by the Bible and the Talmud,—was the subject proper of the cabala. The same teaching was likewise the foundation stone of the Pythagorean philosophy. The latter, as a matter of fact, had various points in common with the Jewish-philosophical tendency toward the great principles of morality and the mysterious ways of revealed knowledge. A great part of the work was devoted to the discussion of these secrets: the fifty gates of revealed knowledge, the thirty-two paths which lead to truth, and the seventy-two angels who play the part of mediators between God and man. A considerable portion dealt with the formal cabala, the cabalistic art proper, the nature of which consists in deducing from the words a deeper meaning than the usual one,—1, by reversal of the letters within the limit of the word (*Gimatria*); 2, by sundering the letters of a word in such a way that each is regarded as the beginning of a new word (*Notarikon*); 3, by such an interchange of letters that for the first one in the alphabet is put the last, for the second the last but one, and so on.

The cabalistic studies were in closest connection with the Hebraic ones. For Reuchlin the latter meant the preparation, and the former the final

achievement. Some persons, mystically inclined clergymen especially, filled themselves with these mysteries, and went so far that one wished to hold lectures about them, and another wrote an apologia. Several, mostly hailing from the anti-Humanistic, particularly anti-Reuchlinistic camp, appeared as open opponents, who partly rejected the idle speculations, and scented in the cabala favoritism of the Jews a derogation of Christianity. The majority contented themselves with pronouncing, or at least approving, the Erasmic sentence that neither the Talmud nor the cabala had ever appeared worthy of approbation.

The revival of the Hebrew language was Reuchlin's great and incontrovertible merit. He learned the language from German and Italian Jews whom he approached without contempt, and to whom he showed grateful respect. He procured Hebrew and Chaldaic books in Italy, and conscientiously noted the place and time of the purchase, so that in looking upon his treasures he could recall to himself the felicitous moment of their first acquaintance. He instructed by writing and by mouth the disciples who flocked to him, at first privately and then in public. He subjected himself to laborious interlinear translations and small text editions. But his two chief accomplishments were his "Hebraic first principles" (*Rudimanta hebraica,* 1506), and his work upon accents and orthography,

(*de accentibus et orthographia linguæ hebraicæ*, 1518).

The former work was jointly grammar and lexicon. Both parts showed the closest reliance upon the most eminent Jewish grammarian and lexicographer of the Middle Ages, David Kimchi who, though only sparingly quoted at first, was conscientiously cited as the chief leader. From him the method was adopted of arranging the words according to their roots, and compiling the derivations, contrary to the alphabetical, under the root words. The plethora of material was taken from Kimchi, so that the vocabulary was scarcely changed by Reuchlin, who did not write for the learned, but for Christians, consequently he had to be quite elementary in his treatment and take into consideration the faith and the attainments of his readers. As he liked to display his classical knowledge he occasionally referred to the German language.

The second work was far more specialized. It taught the accents, the indications of rhetorical measure, and the musical signs. It was much more learned than its companion volume. The twelve years between their publication had sufficed to make the apprentice a craftsman. Reuchlin disposed more freely of his material, although he did not master it to the point of perfection. He was not so wholly dependent upon the rabbinical leaders, though he could not dispense with them altogether. Often

again David Kimchi was quoted as his authority, even if he did not always expressly admit that he used him.

The value of such works does not consist in their details. For that reason their worth was not impaired by the fact that many of these details were wrong, while the correct ones, instead of having been searched for independently, had been taken from strange writings, but always with the inspiration of zeal and sincerity. By means of the Hebrew language, the Bible was explored anew; the original text, which had been almost totally neglected, was restored to its purity, and the vulgata exposed in its corruption, whether intentional or due to ignorance. "Our text reads thus, the Hebraic truth however sounds different," or, "I do not know what our interpreters have been dreaming; what are they talking about?" With such and similar expressions Reuchlin remonstrated with the old translators, especially the *vulgata*. In this bold attitude against a translation which had been deemed sacred for centuries, lay the inestimable value of Reuchlin's Hebraic studies. There the layman not only ventured to plumb theological subtleties, but the fearless thinker substituted science for faith.

In this respect, the great significance of Reuchlin's activity was grasped by only a few contemporaries. The learned men praised him, and many endeavored to follow his suggestions. The book buying public

were somewhat passive. Still, in 1510, Reuchlin had to sell 600 copies of the 1500 edition of the first great work to a Basel bookseller, in order to be able to pay the printer. It required a lot of persuasion to induce the hesitating dealer to pay a third of a guilder for the folio volume. In spite of this partial failure, Reuchlin persisted in the study once begun, which he regarded as his life's task. In a letter written in 1512, in which he strove to convince the Basel bookseller that he would not regret his purchase, but would make a lot of money out of the books, Reuchlin expressed his steadfast purpose in the chosen path: "Denn soll ich leben, so muss die hebræisch sprach herfuer mit Gottes hilf, sterb ich dann, so hab ich doch einen anfang gemacht, der nicht leichtlich wird zergehn." (For if I shall live, the Hebrew must be out with God's help, and when I shall die, I have made a beginning which will not easily perish.) He had the consciousness of being the pioneer on this road, with the pride that readily springs from such knowledge. This feeling he couched in words by placing at the conclusion of his *Rudiments* the high-sounding phrase: *Exegi monumentum ære perennius,* ("I have erected a work more lasting than bronze."

Through such works, Reuchlin gained the admiration of the nation although, lingering in the quietude of his study, he had avoided the noisy market place

of public life. In 1509, he was compelled by a strange event to emerge from his seclusion, and his personal fate became interwoven with an affair which has been described as the apex of the Humanistic movement.

He was well beyond middle age close to the sixties, when he received a call, in his house at Stuttgart, from a man unknown to him. The visitor presented an imperial mandate which gave him authority to confiscate all the books of the Jews. He asked the learned Hebraist to accompany him on this journey of despoilment. Reuchlin treated him courteously, but declined to comply with the request. He pointed out several suspicious features about the imperial writ, and expressed his doubt of the integrity of the stranger.

The caller was Johann Pfefferkorn (1467-1522) who, born a Jew and converted to Christianity, had soon after his adoption of the new faith shown such malignant hatred against his former co-religionists that many did not credit his sincerity, but looked upon his ferocity as the result of his connection with the Cologne Dominicans. He may have been really actuated by the fanaticism of the new convert, or was unduly anxious to please his employers. He published, in 1507-09, four rancorous anti-Jewish volumes. In the first, *Judenspiegel* (Jew mirror), he strove to convince the Jews of the perniciousness of their creed, and make

them believe that they clung to their religion more from force of habit than from inner conviction. In two other books,—*Judenbeichte* (Confessions of a Jew) and *Oster Buch* (Book of Easter),—he ridiculed the religious rites of the Jews as a whole, and especially their ceremonies on certain holidays. In his fourth volume, *Judenfeind* (Enemy of the Jews), he sought to expose the wicked practices toward the Christians that were exercised daily by the Jews, even against those prescribed by their religion. In all these books he recommended as an efficacious cure for stubbornness, false teachings and hostility, the prohibition of usury, the forcible attendance at Christian church services and the confiscation of Jewish books.

In order to carry out such propositions, he appealed to the emperor and, being recommended by high ecclesiastic dignitaries, he received the mandate for the confiscation of the Jewish books. Those who were affected remonstrated and the archbishop of Mainz, prompted perhaps by hostility toward the Cologne men, would not tolerate the arbitrary settling of an ecclesiastical matter in his parish without his consent and participation. These objections were followed by a new imperial mandate, which appointed the archbishop leader of the whole affair, and commissioned him to call learned men of the universities of Mainz, Cologne, Erfurt and Heidelberg to the consideration of the matter.

Furthermore, Reuchlin, Victor von Carben, and Jakob von Hochstraten were appointed members of this distinguished commission.

Victor von Carben (1422-1515) was a poor Cologne priest who used the Hebraic and Talmudic knowledge which he, as a Jew, had acquired in his youth and employed later, when he had become a Christian, against his former companions in creed. In a book professing to describe the life and customs of the Jews (*De vita et moribus Judæorum*), the Latin version of which very likely was not his property, he accused his former people of various crimes, and declared the Talmud to be the main cause of their hostility toward Christians.

Jakob von Hochstraten (1460-1527) was an inquisitor in Cologne, a quarrelsome man, cruel and bold in his attack, shrinking not before any prince nor was he vanquished by any argument. Exceedingly active, with a classical education, seeing deeper into things than most of his companions, he recognized the danger that threatened the Church and the clergy of the Middle Ages from Humanism, and agitated against it from the beginning with great violence and considerable skill.

The demanded summons of the learned men came to naught. Pfefferkorn continued his vicious, antisemitic assaults, addressed a long letter to the emperor and a shorter one "to all ecclesiastics and worldlies," both intended to prove the honesty of

his opinions and necessity of his agitation. These writings for the time accomplished nothing. On the contrary, in consequence of another imperial mandate the Jews were given back their books temporarily and, in a further command, the archbishop was ordered to call for the views of the mentioned scientists.

The expert opinions arrived. Those of the two Cologne theologians, as well as those of the Cologne and Mainz Universities, approved absolutely of Pfefferkorn's demands; they even went further; while those of Erfurt and Heidelberg declared the matter not quite matured and demanded an orderly investigation. Reuchlin's opinion was the only one which endeavored to probe the affair deeply and settle it justly. He exposed to condemnation a few defamatory books, indignantly rejected by the Jews themselves, and endeavored to prove all the others highly worthy of preservation. Only briefly did he plead for the glossaries and commentaries of the Bible, sermon and hymn books, philosophical, historical, poetical and satirical writings, but earnestly for the cabala and more earnestly for the Talmud. This body of Jewish civil and canonical law,—not contained in the Pentateuch,—had been much slandered through ignorance and malice and should be preserved, partly because it could serve as a suitable controversial means of testing the strength of the Christian theologians,

and partly to supply numerous passages to prove the Christian faith. The Christian Church had no right to interfêre with all these books, even if they did contain dangerous matter, since the Jews were regarded by the dogma of the Church as only of a different creed, not as heretics, and were acknowledged by the worldly authorities as citizens of the German empire. Drastic action against the Jewish books would never result in an extermination of the whole literature, and the lawlessness of the procedure would be accompanied by ineffectiveness. The only honest fight against alleged false opinions and against the creed of the Jews as a whole, lay in scientific teaching, and this could be achieved only by thorough investigation of the Jewish writings.

The expert opinions had no immediate effect. They were sent to the emperor with accompanying letters, but he did not come to a decision and he instituted a new committee, who had to debate in common with the Jews. To this body, as can apparently be concluded from a mandate issued at that time, a final resolution was submitted by a future parliamentary session.

The quarrel over prohibition or permission of the Jewish books ended with this postponement, but another wrangle started, not between Jew partisans and their enemies, but between Humanists and obscurants. It was the old struggle of theology against

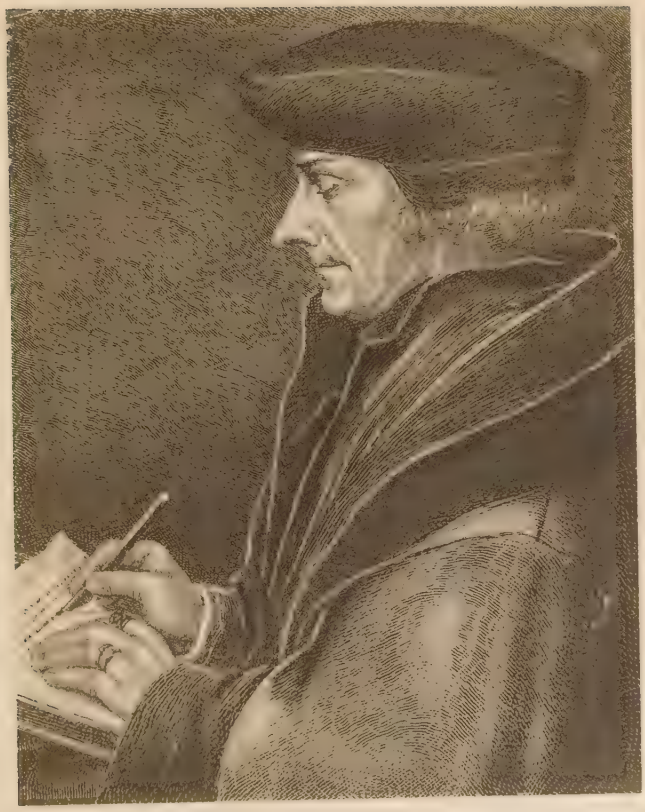
science, the demand for the right of free utterance of opinion in opposition to the inquisitorial heresy mania.

Reuchlin's expert opinion had been handed, sealed to the archbishop of Mainz, for whom alone it was intended and became known to Pfefferkorn and was answered by him, for he forgot the discretion which he, as a private individual, should have observed concerning an officially given expert opinion.

In this reply, the *Handspiegel* (The Hand mirror, 1511), he denied to Reuchlin all learned knowledge and, in order to demonstrate the latter's ignorance, gave a repellent picture of the atrocious and, to Christians, hostile expressions of the Talmud. He charged his opponent with contradictions which were found to exist between his later expert views and a writing published several years before. He denounced him as a patron of the Jews, as a "ohrenblæser, stubensteucker, plippenplapper, beutelfeger, hinterschuetzer, seitenstecher" (a squealer, bookworm, piffler, dirt-raker, backbiter and side pusher).

Exasperated by the virulence of these attacks, as much as by the unlawful knowledge of his expert opinion, Reuchlin demanded court action against his traducer. As this, however, was delayed too long, although it was promised to him, he took up his pen in protest.

He called this protest, as a reminder of the title



of Pfefferkorn's writing, *Augenspiegel* (Eye mirror), and published it during the Easter mass, in 1511. It gave his expert opinion, with printed copies of documents pertaining to it, vindicated his actions, and strongly repudiated the accusation of his opponent that he had not composed the writings which were published under his name, but was induced by Jewish bribes to become their patron. In spite of these vigorous protests and fervent utterances, the Augenspiegel was far behind the dispassionate and calm expert opinion. In the latter, the serious explorer had spoken and, regardless of the eventual consequences, had appealed to his emperor as his supreme worldly judge, with the same sincerity and deference as to his God; but when he had to talk to the multitude in answer to accusations, and to fear misconstructions, Reuchlin became timid, discounted courageous utterances, and did not hold himself aloof from caviling explanations of his own sentences. In truth, such a retreat gave him no advantage over his opponents. They cared little for the half-revocation, but clung to the whole opinion as first presented and attacked the Augenspiegel, but on the score only of the expert opinion, which through him had become public property.

Pfefferkorn opened the attack. With the permission of the town parson he preached against the book in Frankfort, induced the clergyman to pro-

hibit the sale of same, and to call upon the Cologne theological faculty to examine the writing.

Reuchlin received timely knowledge of the readiness on the part of the faculty to agree to such an examination, and in order to forestall decisive action,—for sentence appeared tantamount to trial,—he appealed to Cologne in friendly and official letters. The former were addressed to an old acquaintance, Conrad Kollin, the latter to the head of the faculty, Arnold von Tungern. Modest at first, the tone of these letters became self-conscious and inconsiderate as the Cologne men increasingly displayed the attitude of heretic judges. Not as one asking for mercy, but as a man proudly trusting in his rights, Reuchlin faced the Cologne judges. He repudiated the reproach that he had crossed the emperor's plan, and denied that the questions that were asked him could be answered only by a theologian, declared himself absolutely justified in using the German language, and claimed the prerogative of the attacked. He was already inspired by the premonition that his fight was not the struggle of the single individual, but that the blow which was aimed at him was meant for the whole crowd of his followers. "What a sensation," with these words he concluded his letters of refutation addressed to Kollin, but meant for the whole faculty, "it would cause among the warriors of the nobility and the bourgeois, also those who have their breast

not with an armor but full with scars, if an orator with the power of a Demosthenes would develop before them the beginning, middle and end of this affair, and show them who was concerned in it for the sake of Christ and who for the sake of filthy lucre, and, believe me, to those numbers of the strong also, the poets and historians would join, of whom in our time a great number is alive, who honor me, as is only fair, as their former teacher; they would pass on to eternal memory such a great wrong done me by my enemies, and describe my innocent sufferings to the everlasting shame of your high school."

Time soon showed the correctness of this prediction. The Cologne men were so little impressed by the threat that they caused writings to be issued under various names, in which were compiled Reuchlin's irreligious utterances in his expert opinion, as well as his explanations which were presented in Latin, in his Augenspiegel and in a later writing in German. Furthermore, they undertook legal steps against him. They brought about an imperial interdiction of the Augenspiegel, in consequence of which Reuchlin wrote a violent disparagement of the Cologne men, and through personal representations to the emperor, silence was imposed upon his opponents, but also upon him.

The Cologne men requested expert opinions about the Augenspiegel from the theological faculties of

Erfurt, Mainz, Cologne, Loewen,—the last in the place of the Cavaliers of Heidelberg, who had shown themselves lukewarm,—and Paris. These were presented in a specially prepared text, and the majority were found to be the complete condemnation for which they were looking. Hochstraten, thinking himself sufficiently authorized by the decision of the faculties, now cited Reuchlin before his court. He appealed to the pope, who requested the bishop of Speyer to decide the matter. The bishop's judgment, (March 29, 1514), was in favor of Reuchlin. In order to obtain a repeal of this decision, Hochstraten appealed to Rome. There, for two years Hochstraten having to appear personally, while Reuchlin was permitted to be represented by attorneys, the question was discussed from all sides. Reuchlin worked unremittingly; he appealed by letter to the pope, to the cardinals, to all the influential men in Rome; emperors and kings, laymen and clergymen of every country spoke for him; theologians of all denominations worked for their Cologne professional colleagues. On July 2, 1516, a resolution in favor of Reuchlin was agreed upon by the papal committee. And yet, although this constituted the lawful decision, neither the acquittal by the pope, nor the condemnation by his adversaries followed, but in their place a *mandatum de supersedendo* (mandate of postponement). The matter was not decided, but only postponed. The

quiet struggle for the favor of the mighty was continued, and the battle cry rang throughout the land.

Several years had elapsed, when Franz von Sickingen, one of the warriors of the nobility to whom Reuchlin had referred in 1512, and who boasted that he was one of Reuchlin's disciples, intervened in the quarrel. He had many collisions with the Dominicans, and knew that energetic action succeeded better with them than loud speeches. So he threatened them with an armed raid, (1519), if they did not quickly declare their readiness to send the expenses to Reuchlin, for the payment of which they had been sentenced at the Speyer hearing. His plan was less to secure money for the old man, who really needed it, than to give him a feeling of calm and security by virtue of the concession made by his opponents that they were in the wrong, and that they abided by the legal decision. Sickingen succeeded to that extent that the Dominicans, who did not consider themselves wholly defeated, since they were not sentenced by the pope, showed themselves ready for peace negotiations.

The Dominicans kept their word. During a convention in Frankfort,—Sickingen was almost at the gates,—the court of decision convened and passed a resolution that the Dominicans must address a letter to the pope, in which they were to ask for the suppression of the quarrel, repeal of the cancellation of the Speyer sentence, and the imposition of eternal

silence upon both parties; furthermore, they had to pledge themselves never to start the quarrel again. Such a letter, whether in accordance with the sentiment of the meeting or dictated by fear, had really gone to Rome. Reuchlin gave the news of its existence and contents to his old and proven Roman patrons, and spurred them on to a last, as he dared to hope, unimportant though victorious effort.

But his hope failed. In the same Rome in which heathen sentiment had almost taken officially the place of Christian faith, in which the Hebrew language and literature were in such favor that a professorship for them was established and an invitation issued by the pope for the printing of the Talmud, in which Humanism was not regarded as a hobby of a few circles, but as the life-element of all educated people, especially in which Reuchlin, according to the declaration of an enthusiastic German Humanist, "lived in everybody's mouth and heart,"—in this same Rome the Jewish religion was condemned, its literature declared pernicious, Humanism attacked and Reuchlin sentenced. For on June 23, 1520, the repeal of the Speyer decision was upheld by a papal edict and the Augenspiegel was prohibited and destroyed as a scandalous book, provoking to ire the pious Christians and unforgivably favorable to the Jews. Reuchlin was condemned to eternal silence, and sentenced to bear the cost of the entire proceedings.

Among the German Humanists this unexpected decision made so little impression that it was hardly noticed by a contemporary. Only in more modern times was it brought to light through patient researches. The reason for this strange indifference must not be sought only in the unconcern for papal commands, but also in the realization that this decision again brought to the surface a matter which had been settled long before. The German Humanists cared little about the Speyer sentence or the Roman mandate, about Reuchlin's expert opinion, or about the Talmud; they saw that their leader was attacked by men who were hateful to them more on account of their profession than their sentiment, and they were ready at once with their decision that they did not need a Roman tribunal. Their court of final judgment was public opinion.

They began the fight with their opponents, the mental capacity of whom they recognized, but whose mole-like activity they underrated, with the full inspiration of victory, and they finished their warring with the conviction that the enemy was driven out of all his positions and annihilated for all time.

Almost beginning with the moment when the trial in Mainz was instituted, a second campaign of the literary controversy opened. In the first, Reuchlin and Pfefferkorn had been the only fighters; in the second, they stepped behind their colleagues, the

Cologne Dominicans on the one hand and the German Humanists on the other. Reuchlin had issued in the beginning his violent "Defense against the Cologne slanderers" (*calumniatores;* the word has since been employed in derived forms,—something like *calumnienses,* on account of the similar sound to *colonienses,*—for offending plays on words); he used the prefaces and dedications of his subsequent scientific works for the protection of speeches in his honor and his requests to friends in high positions. He published two collections of letters addressed to him, *Epistolæ clarorum virorum,* 1514, and *Epistolæ illustrium virorum,* 1519, in which he waived a self-defense all the more because here he had the testimonials of the famous men in his favor.

Pfefferkorn was more active. In four German writings,—the Latin ones bearing his name were not his,—he had from 1514 to 1521 championed the cause which he accepted as the mission of his life. If one, however, compared these works, *Sturmglock, Beschirmung, Streitbucchlein, Eine mitleidige Klag* (Storm bell, protection, controversial booklet, a pathetic complaint), with the publications of the former period, one noticed a characteristic difference. The antagonizing of the Jews, formerly the exclusive subject of his writings, receded, if it did not disappear entirely. In the foreground was now the fight against Reuchlin, who was derided

in prose, verse and song as a calumniator and ignoramus, and as a double-tongued fellow.

In all these writings the personal element was conspicuous, the inclination to talk of himself, and the desire to demolish all accusations against him. One of the papers sounded the storm bells against the sinner and criminal Reuchlin, and the other lamented him as if he had been judged and sentenced long before, and wept a hypocritical tear over the fallen one; but the two main writings were, in spite of their violent tone and their accusatory attitude, a self-defense and rehabilitation, as he declared, of his wrongfully abused and gravely insulted honor.

By the side of the few publications of the two chief opponents appeared numerous writings of the party adherents of both. For the partisans of Reuchlin, who had formerly acted under the collective name of cultivators of the arts, or of the study of humanity (*artes studium humanitatis*), the name of Reuchlinists was created, a catalogue of them was compiled and, besides this official review, many smaller troop assemblies were held to which the fighters who had been forgotten crowded eagerly, in order to see their names added to the list of the chief champions.

The name of *obscuri viri* was adopted for his opponents,—verbally "the unknown dark men," so called by the Humanists in contrast to the *clari viri,* "the light, famous men." Reuchlin had collected the

letters of the former, but they were described by posterity as "obscurants," and branded with that description. This name was introduced through the classical satire of the Humanists, the *epistolæ obscurorum virorum,* for the composition of which the lion's share belonged to Hutten and Rubeanus. These two were the most active among the busy ones and through their mentality, were distinguished Humanists. The party of Cologne men, less numerous, were bent more upon defense than attack. Their main champions were Hochstraten and Ortuin Gratius, the former a gloomy preacher of penitence, the latter the poet of the party.

The letters of the obscurants were published in two parts, in 1515 and 1517, without naming an author, giving the wrong place and date, and presenting the bold fiction that they were received with friendliness by Pope Leo. All these precautionary measures, however, did not mislead Humanists and anti-Humanists. They soon discovered that the writing emanated from the camp of the Reuchlinists, and that it was by no means meant for the glorification of the papacy or the clergy. As chief authors, the two above-mentioned were correctly named. A few other Humanists who had still to settle some private feuds, or who strove to perpetuate the old stories, may have made some contributions.

The letters of the obscurants made themselves

known as letters of the party adherents of the Cologne men, living in different places, addressed to Ortuin Gratius. He was their God,—the theologian, jurist and medical man, and above all, the poet,—a master of all free arts. To him "the clumsy, enjoyment-hunting German parsons, limited by stupid admiration and fanatical hatred," appealed. Already they were rendered ridiculous by their names,—"Langschneiderius, Hasenmusius, Straussfederius, Scheerscleiferius, Buntemantellus, Eitelnarrabianus, Dollkopfius, und Tilemann Lumplin." As in these names, so in the letters themselves the most amusing German-Latin appeared; the indefinite article was given as *unus,* the indefinite with *hic;* every phrase seemed to have been first thought out in the most vulgar German, and then translated into Latin with contempt for every halfway decent Latin expression. The writers of the letters were devoid of taste in their pictures and comparisons, in their addresses and signatures, in their mixing of the important with utter nonsense, in their courtesies and their salutatory formulas, of which the following

> "Wieviel Tropfen sind im Meer
> Und wieviel Begutten laufen in Koeln umher,
> Wieviel Haare besitzt des Esels Haut,
> So viel Gruesse rufe ich zu Dir laut."

was by no means the worst. They clung tenaciously to the old traditions, were proud of their magister

and doctor title, and saw their worst enemies in the assailants of the academical dignities. They were uneducated, knowing nothing higher than their antiquated, worthless instruction books; they felt at ease in their unscientific doings, in the useless exertions of a vain sagacity, and looked with supreme contempt upon the modern poets and orators. They paid homage to the beauty of form and hated the friends of the antique, who adored the heathen gods. They were rude and immoral, reveled in debauchery, indulged like louts and cynics in their love adventures, and regarded themselves as the true priests, because they read masses and observed all the ceremonies.

But above all they were anti-Reuchlinists, forever spying out every pamphlet of the Cologne men and edifying themselves by reading them; they condemned the writings of the Humanists without having read them, and had many a serious tussle with the robust disciples of the new party. To give an adequate idea of these letters to the reader who is not conversant with Latin is very difficult, especially as in a translation the charm which lies in the German-Latin jargon is lost. Perhaps I may succeed with the reproduction of a part of the collection. This is a letter of the magister Phillip Schlauraff, who described a journey through Germany's towns, and reported about the many adverse fates which he had to suffer at the hands of

the Reuchlinists. The story is told in the worst conceivable Latin-rhyming verses; several passages from the traveling description may be reproduced here, copied purposely from the original in their bad and irregularly built doggerel verses:

"Herr Gott und grosser Christ, Der unsere ganze Hoffnung ist,
Du wollest mir recht gnaedig sein Gegen alle boesen Feinde mein.
Schicke einen Teufel mir, Der zum Galgen befoerdert schier
Juristen und Poeten, Die mich bringen in grosse Noethen. . .
In allen Staedten ging's mir so, Nie ward ich meines Lebens froh.
Hab den Weg nach Wien genommen, Doch's ist mir schlecht bekommen.
Rector war Collimitius, Gsegnes ihm der heilige Antonius,
Verraether er mich nannte, Mich fast in den Carcer bannte,
Wenn mich nicht gerettet Heckman. Doch plagt mich weidlich Vadian
Der mich genommen aufs Korn, Weil ihn Johannes Pfefferkorn
In seinem Streitbuechlein geschaendet, Drum er gegen mich sich wendet.
Ich sagt' ich habe nichts gethan, Und flehte ihn fast weinend an,
Er sollt' mich laufen lassen; Doch rieht ihm mich zu fassen
Der Rector der Lilienburse, Der ihm kam zum Succurse.
Darauf sagt' Cuspinianus, Der Guenstling des Maximilianus,
Die Magister der freien Kuenste, Seien Doctoren der geilen Bruenste . . .
Vor seiner Wuth ich fluechte, Den Weg nach Nuernberg richte.
Dort lebt Pirckheimer, wisst ihr, der nicht einmal ist Magister
Er schreibt in Dialogen Gegen uns die Theologen.
Und ferner, was auch nicht ohne, Er steht pro Capnione

Verbunden mit seinen Genossen Und bereitet uns arge Possen . . .
In Erfurt gings mir nicht besser, Da plagt' mich jeder Professor.
Der Aperbach begann den Tanz, Eoban Hesse verfolgt mich ganz
Und rief: man sool auf den Strassen mich nicht unverhauen lassen
Und sagte: ihr lieben Soehne, brect ihm aus all' seine Zaehne,
Er ist ein Theologikus Und macht Reuchlin serhr viel Verdruss,
Drauf schrie Crotus Rubeanus: Wer ist denn dieser Beanus,
Der uns so unbekannt kommt vor? Doch ich sagte: ich bin auch Doctor . . .
In tuebingen ists nicht minder toll, da ist's von Reuchlinisten voll
Die schreiben viele Bogen Und aergern die Theologen.
Der schlimmste ist Melanchthon, Der redet im schaendlichsten Ton.
Kann ich ihn todt erschauen, So gelob' ich unserer Frauen
Ich wallfahrt' nach witer Fern, Wie thaet' ich das so gern.
Dann ist der Bebel, der Meister, Sein Schueler, Brassikan heisst er
Und Paulus Vereander, Die schworen alle miteinander,
Sie wollten mich gruendlich verhauen, Wenn ich nochmals mich liesse schauen
Haett' mich nicht ein Bruder gerettet, Schlecht waer ich gewesen gebettet."

The letters of the obscurants which passed as the productions of the warlike monk party accomplished at first the intended deception. The friars in England were glad to have a written expression in their favor, and a Dominican prior in Brabant bought a number of copies to present to his superiors. Even

in Germany, where all should have been in close enough touch with the matter to recognize its tendency, they were deceived for awhile. The closing letter of the second part, however, made misconception impossible. In this the magister Malleolus, "out of Paradise," turned against Ortuin with vehement abuse, censured him because he dared to proselyte pious men, defend barbarians, slander poets and Latinists and finished his condemnation with the angry exclamation: "To the devil with you and your whole clique!" The impetuous outcry of the Cologne men which presently followed proved how well the blow of their opponents had struck home.

Ortuin Gratius appeared in the letters of the obscurants as the chief person attacked. He replied in violent, but utterly witless pamphlets, the more despicable because he used in his answer the *Lamentationes obscurorum virorum,* the fiction of his opponents, although in a reversed sense. Hochstraten, as a grand inquisitor, had when in Rome often used secret alleys and back streets, and had won over influential men with money and intrigues. He was the counselor, the man of action and the chief inspirer of Roman decision. He had acted as a combative author several times. In two apologias he tried to ward off the Humanistic attacks and in an aggressive article hoped to be able to destroy the cabala. Of far greater importance was his be-

lief that he would annihilate the Humanistic party. The respect attributed to this opponent was shown by the fact that Erasmus, who disliked to come out of his reserve, resolved to address a letter of remonstrance to Hochstraten.

Erasmus did not take either side in this letter, but exhorted the Anti-Reuchlinist, who was not known to him personally, as he had admonished the Humanists previously, to moderation in the controversy and to accelerate peace. "It is for you," he said, "to suppress the calumnies, for your honor, for the reputation of the profession to which you belong, and the study that you cultivate in a dignified manner. Separate the person from the object; a man may err, then his error is to be censured, but his honor is to be maintained, his scientific endeavors are to be kept in high esteem, with which he does not obscure theology, but enlightens, not fights it but promotes it."

The other Humanists, however, did not think that Hochstraten cultivated the study worthily; on the contrary, they scoffed at his mania for appearing learned when the truth was the opposite. Several expressions were devoted to this very subject. The keenest was "The triumphing Hochstraten" (*Hochstratus ovans,* 1521). Here the opponent himself was shown, but he told of his wiles and intrigues, how he boasted of his ignorance and his meretricious half-learnedness, how he deliberated

with his companions, furthered war plans, and got into such zealous heat during these debates that he came near starting a quarrel with his accomplices, and finally, how he intoned a song of triumph over the secured victory.

He was virtually in the right. However, nothing spoke more clearly for the convictions of the Humanists than that the victory was won without a court decision, and three years previous to the actual sentence the "Triumph of Reuchlin" (*triumphus Capnionis*) had been sung, and Hochstraten described and humiliated as the vanquished.

Induced by Dürer's great work, the "Triumphal Procession of the Emperor," which had been in progress since 1512, an unknown artist had also designed a triumphal procession of Reuchlin. The painter was joined by the poet, perhaps Eleutherius Byzenus, who was alleged to be the author, or Hutten, which was more probable, or Busch, who was said to have also written a triumphal procession of Reuchlin, under the pseudonym of "Accius Neobius." Picture and poem were in closest connection with each other; both described the welcome awaiting the celebrated man, which was prepared for him on his return to his native town Pforzheim by his countrymen, and his German admirers as a whole.

The procession was moving through the streets,

which were strewn with leaves and flowers, and between the gayly adorned houses. The weapons and images of the vanquished were borne in front: the former were sophistic deductions and proofs, purchased titles, gory slate pencils, pyres in pictures, etc.; the latter were the four monsters of superstition, barbarism, ignorance and envy, of which a frightful description was given in allegoric figures. After this followed, in chains, the conquered enemies: Hochstraten, the fire man, who ate and spat fire, and whose every other utterance was "into the fire"; then the drunken, envious Ortuin; the ambitious, sanctimonious Arnold von Tungern, and Pfefferkorn the Judas, against whom the poet called the henchman to mutilate him and to drag him by the feet; and finally, the Mainz and Frankfort enemies of Reuchlin, two zealous priests, who even proselyted the leader of the Humanists from the pulpit. The prisoners were followed by sacrificial steers, then by music and singers who intoned a hymn on Capnion, and at last appeared the venerable figure of the triumpher himself, seated on a wagon adorned with all kinds of rare shrubs and flowers, his gray temples entwined with laurel and ivy, in his right hand the Augenspiegel and in his left an olive branch. Behind him, also adorned with wreaths, came the crowd of jurists and poets whom he had saved from the destruction which was also meant for them by the obscurants.

More significant than this conception of the procession was the spirit upon which it was based. The flaming hatred of the opponents as the enemies of knowledge, good morals and true faith, who had in the past perpetrated many crimes under the cloak of religion, the glowing enthusiasm for Reuchlin,—were really for the cause of liberty and science which seemed embodied in the person of this great leader, and which was imperiled through the efforts of his adversaries.

Wherever one looked he saw the same sentiment throughout the entire Humanistic camp, and the same desire to give it expression. It is not too much to say that for years, (about 1512-17), the Reuchlin affair filled the mind and heart of the Germans. In numerous writings (Böcking counted 44 from 1505 until 1521) and in almost countless letters, this matter was dealt with. Even foreign countries participated in this German controversy. England, which was won for Humanism by Erasmus; France, despite the Parisian decision, which was made from love of the Cologne men, and was against Reuchlin; and Italy, notwithstanding the zealous efforts of the anti-Humanists, and the feigned or real indifference which they felt toward German affairs:—all had their Reuchlinists who, in letters and books, manifested their love and respect for their master. In Germany, Erfurt formed the center of the Reuchlinist party, whence were issued many of the anony-

mous writings, mostly of a satirical nature, which did the obscurants more harm than folios full of serious learnedness. There the praise of Reuchlin was sung by Mutian and his companions, who bowed before the greater mind in ungrudging appreciation. To characterize many extravagant speeches of homage, a single one from a letter of Euricius Cordus may suffice: "I greet you, once more, and again a third time I greet you, best, most learned and most immaculate Reuchlin. Against so many hideous monsters who emerge from the dirt of the old barbarism, I exclaim again, I greet you, you unconquerable Hercules, you protector of the learned, sweetest jewel of the Muses. I love you more than your best friend, to see your face is my most earnest desire. As I cannot hurry to you myself, I enjoy the reports of the friends, who are coming from you. I am jubilant when they have glad tidings, but conquer you must, conquer soon, and do not leave us in anxious suspense." The correspondence of Reuchlin teemed with similar and even more exuberant, sentiments.

These showed the great veneration for the man and the universal enthusiasm for the cause represented by him, which for a time seemed in the very foreground of the spiritual interest of the nation. It was the only one which claimed its whole attention. Then a change began and from 1518 on grew in importance. The Reformation took its place

beside Humanism and in due time overshadowed and absorbed it.

Reuchlin was not a reformer, but with all the boldness which he showed toward the old Church, he remained her true son. Even if he criticised adversely the prescribed Latin Bible translation, and gave "the Hebrew truth" preference over it, even if he did remonstrate with the medieval commentators and esteem his own knowledge as the superior, yet he submitted his individual opinions, the whole edifice of his teachings, to the judgment of the Church. He regarded the papacy as the highest and most inviolable authority. He condemned all who had attacked that authority and were sentenced for doing so. He approved the death of Savonarola on the pyre, not because he thought him an opponent of the Humanists, but a heretic; he abominated the doings of Hans Boehme, a plain peasant who, almost half a century before Luther, preached reformatory and revolutionary doctrines, and expiated his fervent teachings by his death.

The high veneration of the Church, the classifying of those who had fought against priestlike authority and Church dogmas as heretics and infidels, and finally the timidity of the aging and sorely tried man, decided his attitude toward the Reformation. He saw in it a forcible breaking up of the solid order, and the unwarranted action of a single individual against the will of the entirety; he feared

trouble for his person after he experienced the treachery of the clergy. Highly as he regarded Luther's learnedness, and close as he was to the reformative circles through his grandnephew Melanchthon, he none the less declined all connection with the affairs of Luther and estranged himself from his relative when the latter could not any longer be separated from the Reformer. No utterance or action in Reuchlin's life justified the charge of reformative sentiments on his part. The often told story that he prevented his invited friend, Joh. Eck of Ingolstadt, from burning Luther's books only proved that he had himself suffered too much from the anger of zealots and felt too vividly in his own case the futility of forcible action against literary efforts. He disapproved of the Reformation absolutely, and emphatically proved that he lived and died for the old Church. He did this, it appears, after the papal bull was issued against Luther, in a letter addressed to the Bavarian princes. We do not know of that letter, but we know of a bitter one of Hutten to the former highly respected master, (February 22, 1521). It formed a renunciation in the most emphatic form, and was a challenge of the young to the old, the reckless reformer pressing forward against the doubters, and at the same time the scorn of the man who knew the world and the people against the simple-minded and credulous. "Even if you could free yourself

from Rome by the disapproval of Luther's views, I should deem it dishonorable that you antagonize a party, to which, as you see, belong those whose votary you ought to be in every honorable cause . . . only try it, and if your age permits it, go to Rome whence it draws you so much, and kiss Pope Leo's foot, write against us, in what you desire to write."

Reuchlin had not gone to Rome; it was not known that he approached the pope submissively. He certainly had not written against the Protestants, but he had come to the end of his hopes and his trust; he did not enjoy the present any more, and looked only with trembling into the future. Reuchlin finished his career, which was so famous and active, on the 30th of June, 1522, wearied of life, but not of work, for the desire filled him until his last breath.

There was something pathetic in his sturdy persistence during the closing few years. Although bent with old age and weighed down by sorrowful experiences, he took up his office as teacher at the university with joy and alacrity. He seemed to gain fresh strength through the appreciation of the great, and the crowding around him of the studious, venerating youth.

Reuchlin did not belong to the creative minds who have erected immortal monuments and produced lasting creations which afford all generations

a great and almost divine enjoyment, for he was not an artist nor a daring thinker who shrank not from the consequences. But he was an indomitable explorer, a versatile scientist, a brave pioneer in unknown domains of science, and an intrepid friend of the truth. However, truth was to him the traditional view, not the prescribed law, only the conviction gained by independent research. He described his striving after truth in the beautiful words: "I love the holy Hieronymus and I reverently bow before Nikolaus von Lyra, but only truth I adore as I do God."

CHAPTER X

DESIDERIUS ERASMUS

AMID the homage which was paid to the memory of Reuchlin, one of the most remarkable occurrences was the "apotheosis," a vision which a Franciscan was said to have beheld in the death hour of the celebrated man.

On the far side of a bridge which crossed a brook, the dreamer saw a beautiful meadow. Towards the bridge walked Reuchlin in white garb, and behind him was a beautiful winged boy, his good genius. Large black birds followed him with their cries, but he turned his head, made the sign of the cross and put them to flight. At the bridge, the linguistic, holy Hieronymus received him as a colleague, and brought him a dress, trimmed all over with tongues in three different colors, in allusion to the three languages which were understood by both. The meadow and the air were filled with angels; upon a hill which rose from the meadow, a fiery shaft descended from the open heavens, into which the two blissful friends, embracing each other, ascended amidst the singing of the sacred chorus.

The author of this apotheosis was Desiderius Erasmus. He was not an enthusiastic youth when he wrote it, but stood in the prime of life, on the apex of his fame. Formerly he had not held such an impartial recognition of his contemporary and companion in fame, although he ought to have suppressed all envious feelings toward him; for Erasmus was many-sided, deeply learned, and combined in himself the gifts which had adorned Reuchlin. With the insatiable yearning for research, he had elegance of expression and a sparkling wit. He could boast in a much higher degree than Reuchlin of his direct influence upon his contemporaries and his intervention in the important affairs of the time.

Desiderius Erasmus was born October 28, 1467, at Rotterdam, and died July 12, 1536, in Basel. He was an illegitimate child of Gerhard de Praet, and lost both parents at a very tender age. He was taught at first in Deventer and wished to go to the university. However, partly yielding to the pressure of his guardian, who desired to get rid of him, and partly attracted by the enthusiastic descriptions of the friend of his youth, Cornelius Werdenus, he entered the monastery of Stein (Emmaus), near Gouda. But this apparent separation from the outer world was followed neither by an awakening of monastic inclinations nor a

severance from the studies which had already become dear to him.

Even if he did write a book expressing his contempt of the world, in which he explained the reasons for a young man entering a monastery, he did so more in order to satisfy the sentiments of a father, and to make a contribution in accordance with the fashion in those days, than to express his real feelings. In truth, he became very anti-monastic, and proved this hostility, not only by a quiet and a loud defiance of the monastic rules, but through a number of smaller writings, in which he expressed fervent enthusiasm for Humanistic education, and hatred of ecclesiastical doings.

Despite his aversion, Erasmus did not succeed in leaving the monastery until 1491. The change was due to an offer by the bishop of Cambrai, who desired a learned young man for a companion on an intended journey to Rome, and whose attention had been directed to Erasmus. Though the youth did not get to Rome at that time, the cloister got rid of him for all time. In Cambrai he found friends who lent him some assistance. He longed to live in a center of learning and to work in larger spheres. To satisfy his yearnings he went to Cologne in 1496, and thence after a short stay to Paris.

For ten years Erasmus belonged alternately to France and to England. He went back and forth

between Paris, London and Oxford. In spite of this, he became neither a Frenchman nor an Englishman. While the two nations, with all the respect which they showed for him as a guest, did not regard him as one of their own, the Germans had begun to consider him as their countryman. That he himself avoided all talk about his nationality was partly due to a certain cosmopolitan feeling, and partly to self-exaggeration, fanned by the rivalry of the nations for his person. Indifferent as he was to the request of the German Humanists,—who were inspired by exaggerated Teutonism,—to declare himself openly a German, and late as he was in referring to *nostra Germania,* that people had really a right to regard him as one of their own.

Not only did the history and political solidarity of his country place him closer to the Germans, but his long abode in their country and his indissoluble connection with their spiritual life practically made him one of them. Only in Germany did he appear in almost equal measure as donor and as recipient; in other countries he was either the one or the other. He drew in Italy from the sources of education; in France and England he distributed his treasures, and at the utmost, encouraged sentimental colleagues in the chosen path.

In France and England he learned from Italians, who had accidentally fixed their abode in those

countries, but he by no means showed proper gratitude to them. He taught young noblemen, whom people liked to trust to his charge. He spoke in countless letters of this activity, of his life with his friends, of the people and the nobles, of the little incidents of daily life, as well as of the great affairs in the literary and political world. These letters, and particularly those addressed to his friends, form lasting monuments of his facile talent, his witty, original and,—despite the dead language which he used,—very lively style. In them he resembled Voltaire, with whom he had points in common, through his versatility, his discursive mind, his elegance, his liking for the superficial, and his weakness of character. These letters belong to the not very numerous examples of Humanistic literature which not only attract by their form, but by their easy, ornamental and natural manner of description.

In the influence which Erasmus exerted upon the aspiring youths and mature men of France and England, he belonged to the history of the culture of both countries. The conversion of the Paris University from a stronghold of scholasticism into a home for Humanistic wisdom was his work, and England was indebted to him for the familiarity with classic literature. A bond of ardent friendship held Erasmus to Thomas Morus, the learned, tactful, sentimental and moral chancellor of Eng-

land, and there was in Erasmus' life hardly a period which was humanly more attractive than the weeks and months which he spent in the immediate proximity of this worthy man. Through him he was brought in touch with the royal family and had occasion to see the later Henry VIII as a young prince, to whom he sent a poem in which the praise of England and her people and king was sung, who "was more patriotic than the Dacians, more God-fearing than Numa, more eloquent than Nestor, more diplomatic than Cæsar, more liberal than Mæcenas, and only sparing with one thing, namely, the blood of his subjects."

Erasmus went to Italy from England in 1506, not as a pupil but as a famous man, and received high honors there from cardinals and popes, from leagues and universities, all of which he accepted as a due tribute. The accession to the throne of the prince eulogized by him called him back to England. The laggard compliance with promises made to him, and the pontificate of Leo X, which had begun in the meantime, made Erasmus regret his hurried departure from Italy. Neither that country nor England could boast of possessing him, for Germany became his abode and his home.

After 1513, Erasmus lived in Basel, in close relations with the book printers, and the literary circles of Basel and the neighboring towns. The Basel residence was interrupted by occasional

journeys to England, and by a longer stay in the Netherlands, whither the young king Charles, Germany's future emperor, lured him. He was attracted to Loewen, where the previously mentioned three-language institution seemed to promise a great development of Humanism, but the roaming scientist always returned to the peaceful Basel with its wide-awake people and lively printing presses.

More and more had Erasmus become the oracle of Europe, through his amazing literary activity and a correspondence the extent of which was unequaled even in those times. He was the judge and arbiter in mental, religious and political affairs, and was asked by the rulers of all countries for advice, as well as by the contending parties. He was esteemed a mental power of the first rank also by those who did not immediately comply with his decisions. He survived the reign of Humanism and entered that of the Reformation. Where, however, the latter ruled, he could not abide. He quit Basel as soon as the Reformation secured victorious entry there, and moved to Freiburg, where he remained until his death, in intimate association with other Humanists who, like him, could not reconcile their religious views with those of Protestantism.

"Erasmus is a man by himself." He was tersely described by these words in the letters of the obscurants, whose forte certainly was not characterization. It was not fame in the eyes of the authors,

who did not charge Erasmus with belonging to the obscurants because he held a separate position within Humanism. They assumed rather that he would not serve as a common soldier in the ranks of the Humanists. In our sense, however, it was an honor for a man to be thus described, for it is not easy at any time to be something specific, something that distinguishes itself from the multitude, and it is particularly difficult when a great idea dominates the restless people and an unconditional acceptance and carrying out of their idea is peremptorily demanded. He who quietly goes his own way is easily challenged by both parties, which in vain try to claim him as one of them, and runs the risk of being regarded by posterity as half one and half the other and abused therefor.

In the face of Erasmus the humorous-satirical expression was conspicuous which gave him a peculiar appearance. He was short and weakly,—"a gray, respectable old man, and a delicate little man," as Kessler, a contemporary, described him. From early childhood, in consequence of wrong bringing up, he was subject to many ailments, sensitive to every change of climate and weather, and compelled to observe the most rigid regularity in food and drink. Notwithstanding all precautions, he was afflicted by troublesome and painful illnesses in his maturer age. He was a sick man who, in order to preserve the spark of life in him, had to

study himself very carefully, and avoid all irregularities and unwise indulgences. His feelings of like and dislike shifted quickly, as is the case with excitable natures. Sometimes he inclined towards the new friend in unrestrained candor, telling him at first sight all that he had seen and thought, and confiding to him the inconsiderate judgment and condemnation of others; sometimes he retired within himself, struck by suspicion, and his glowing friendship changed into expression of sharp malice.

Erasmus was a man by himself also in his mental development. He had not proceeded on the regular prescribed path, but had entered the realm of science against the will of his advisers, and had to find his own way, which led to grander success than theirs could have done. Through such a success he had gained an exaggerated, but excusable, confidence in his own mental powers, even when quite youthful, and later when hailed as master and king. The older he grew, the more fame he gained, " so that at the same time," as Kessler said, " his name has been used in a proverb, in such a way that for everything that is artistically, carefully, and learnedly written, one says, ' that is Erasmic,' that is, infallible and perfect." What man can remain indifferent to such praise? Strong natures, however, prove the justification of fame by further achievements, but they insist that they be permitted to judge as final arbiter the accomplishments of others. They be-

come very susceptible to contradiction of their judgment, and are bitterly offended by the censure, which they regard as a wanton interference with their sovereign rights.

Erasmus was also in a class by himself as to his social status. Most of the Humanists were officials, —university or private teachers, jurists or clergymen. With many, the connection between office and literary activity was a mere external one, with others, both were in direct contradiction to each other. Erasmus was one of the few authors of those times who did not covet an office, who accepted the proffered one with dislike, desiring to live only for the sake of science. Even so prolific a writer as he could not live by his pen alone, since the booksellers paid little or nothing, fearing at any moment to lose the profit of a really good article through some one else who quickly prepared to print the same book. Of course such a thing as a copyright was then undreamed of.

Because of this situation Erasmus was obliged to have high patrons and friends, who held ready money and presents as a reward for the dedications of an author. His literary activity was exceedingly prolific and versatile. There was hardly a mental domain which he did not enter, and none into which he went where he did not move as an artist. He appeared in the most various capacities; sometimes easily provided, sometimes heavily laden with the

equipment of classical erudition; sometimes in prose, sometimes in poetry, and the older he grew always more and more turning to the earlier way of writing as the one best suiting his maturity,—anywhere and everywhere that he appeared he represented the sum total of the knowledge of the time, always deepening the old and suggesting the new.

Primarily Erasmus was a philologist. He was master of Latin style and one of the most excellent among the revivalists of the Greek language. Three causes spoiled the Latin expression of many of the most gifted of those days,—the daily intercourse in the language of the country, and its use, if only moderately, for literary works; the application of Latin for special scientific investigations, which partly militated against the genius of the language; and the mania of imitating the master of classicism, Cicero, thereby hindering the independent molding of the language and its mental development. These facts did not concern him, for he lived mostly in countries whose language he hardly knew and the majority of his works invited treatment in Latin.

Naturally Erasmus considered himself justified in sitting in judgment upon the one-sided Latinists, in his dialogue *Ciccronianus,* for they had called him the "erring one," (by means of a derisive contortion of his name, "Errasmus" for "Erasmus") and the "cud chewer," *Porrophagus,* on account of

his frequent use of the word *porro*). In this dialogue he described the Ciceronian Nosoponus who had spent seven years exclusively in the reading of Cicero, and who had composed for himself three lexica, one a dictionary of words, another a list of phrases, and a third an enumeration of the customary accentuations and modulations for the beginning and the end of phrases. He was determined to use only these lexica as sources of Latinity, in such a way that he employed simply those forms that were accidentally used by his master. Thus he took the feminine of an adjective, or the genitive of a noun, if he really found an authority for that form in his model. He must work only in the quiet of a specially chosen night, not disturbed by any noise or any glare of light, and with an empty stomach and a holy mind. A single evening hardly sufficed for the composition of a complete sentence; this, however, had to be turned and turned again, until fitted to appear as a member of a worthy whole.

The head of the Anti-Ciceronians, Bulephorus, showed, against these exaggerations, the absurdity of such work, and explained that Cicero had possessed many qualities in a lesser degree than other Roman authors. For instance, he lacked humor, conciseness, clarity of description, and credence; furthermore, he had not written about everything, and the sphere of thought in which he moved was

no greater than that of modern times; that political life and religion claimed other requirements from the author; in short, that a totally self-denying attachment to Cicero was an indication of a silly and unfruitful dependence of the mind.

No less service was rendered by Erasmus to the Greek than to the Latin language. He was its most zealous cultivator, and treated Greek texts with superb knowledge and as the keenest of critics; he translated and paraphrased classic and patriotic authors with a perfect mastery of the tongue and the subject. In his explanations of Greek writings he kept aloof from philological trifling, as well as from general æsthetic discourse. The Greek pronunciation was laid down in a small writing, brightened by witty and sagacious remarks, (*de recta latini græcique sermonis pronunciatione*). It established the pronunciation that has prevailed ever since, and which eliminates the consonantal occurring in the v sound and limits the predominance of the j sound, even in the v vocals. This alteration, according to Erasmus, was caused through the information from some Greeks secured by him after the testimony of Heinrich Loriti. It opposed of its own accord, without basing itself upon any definite tradition, the customary so-called Reuchlinistic pronunciation, essentially the modern Greek of today. That it became the accepted one without any further preliminaries and solely upon the authority of Erasmus,

proved the eminent repute which he enjoyed in those days.

Pedagogy was closely connected with philology in that period. The instruction in the schools confined itself mostly to the classic languages. Through this limitation the philologist was sometimes, perhaps against his own will, pressed into the occupation of teaching; but Erasmus was by nature inclined to the discussion of such things. He was no practical schoolman, yet he wrote the most popular school book of his time, the *Colloquia Familiaria,* (Familiar Chats); also a large work, a collection of proverbs, *Adagiorum opus,* which was a widely accepted book on education.

The *Familiar Chats* first appeared in 1519, and was gradually enlarged until it grew to its present size in 1530. The contents are conversations upon the most varied subjects, with an easy flowing style, and witty, satirical comments. To us the choice of subjects and the manner of treatment do not always appear suitable for young people; but those times were more indulgent, more naïve in that respect; they did not hesitate to trust to youth what seems to us equivocal, if not obscene. There were reports about women, respectable and disreputable. Once, at a meeting of women (*gynacko-synedrion*), there was a dispute over the admission of the maidens. Precedence among the members was fixed according to the number of their children, and at the con-

clusion a resolution was adopted to establish for the mothers the privilege of the children's education and, when possible, alternation with the men in the incumbency of public office for which the carrying of arms was not required.

Then the grammarians got in their blow. At a gathering for learned debaters, the dispute was over a corrupt word, (*Anticomarita*), and the strangest and most grotesque explanations were brought forward, with probably the worst of all accepted as the correct one.

At other times, moral qualities were discussed,—frugality, friendship, revelry, the superstitious notions of various social classes, especially of the sailors, the German inns in all their squalor and poverty, war and peace, and the political conditions of the time at which there was no lack of protestations of the Erasmic love of peace. Frequently the Humanistic idea was expressed; and, in place of the false Ciceronism, the genuine praise of Cicero, which once culminated in the declaration,—"As often as I read one of his writings, I kiss the book and revere his sacred spirit filled with the divine essence." In opposition to the external Greek cult, which reveled only in the beauty of form, the internal admired the wise maxims of Greek philosophers and once broke out in the exclamation: "Holy Socrates, pray for us."

Besides all these things, which are to be regarded

as secondary only, the pedagogic element came into its own; pedagogic admonitions were scattered throughout the book; communications about the various greetings and thanksgiving formulas, as well as a description of the walk to the school; prescriptions regarding the little incidents of daily life, and the great question of good conduct at all times.

The second work, the collection of proverbs, grew in a similar way to the first mentioned, from a folio to a little handbook. In its first edition, in 1500, it was a dry compilation of a hundred proverbs, *an opus jejunum atque inops,* as the collector himself characterized it. In the definite editions subsequent to 1515, it was a strong folio volume, in which more than 4,000 proverbs were listed and explained. Only a small part of the wisdom of modern nations was given, in Latin translation, but the wisdom of the ancients, laboriously garnered from the Latin and Greek authors, was included. "Famous Utterings," according to the Erasmic version, consisted of "contents that were known and whose expression was strange and new."

The explanation comprised, on the one hand, a presentation of the verbal and the essential meaning, and the enumeration of many similar sounding and similar meaning examples from ancient times. The publisher of the edition of 1508 boasted that there were communicated more than 10,000 verses from Homer, Euripides and other Greek poets. On

the other hand, there were long digressions and tales which, connected with the proverbs, threw light upon the most varied conditions of life. From a crowded and stormy experience, the author communicated hundreds of stories in his most convivial and chatty manner, intending them to serve as illustrations of instructive sentences.

These stories were by no means always harmless, and were not supposed to be so. On the contrary, they contained violent sallies against the women, the jurists, the nobles, and the vanity of the various classes and nations. Still Erasmus knew how to praise as well as to blame the crowned heads, exalted patrons and clever professors. Of Aldus Manutius he said on one occasion, "The library of Ptolemæus was limited by the walls of a house, the one established by Aldus only acknowledges the boundaries of the world as its own."

In volume and contents this significant work served the Humanistic ideas. It was a lively protest against ignorance and lack of scientific knowledge, and a sometimes elegant and again humorous defense of knowledge and learnedness. The latter passages with many jocular and attractively told stories lent to the work peculiar charm. In those days, the interest in the material predominated; the thousands of wise remarks were impressive, and the numerous passages from the ancients, which nowadays become known to us through excellent trans-

lations, were seemingly freshly discovered. Thus the work must have seemed to be, as a contemporary said, a little treasure box of wisdom, to which one took his refuge like to the sibylline books, and as a modern author has wittily stated, it could serve to prove the close connection between ancient and modern culture, and the correctness of the maxim that literature is the gathering point of human insight and reason.

In both works, the Proverbs and the Conversations, a subject was treated to which no reference had as yet been made, that is, the religious one. Not that religion and theology were discussed with particular zeal, in exhaustive elaborations, but in such a way that the enemies of Humanism,—the monks and theologians,—were naturally brought to mind. In the Chats were found sharp sallies against the friars who, in an undignified way, combined ecclesiastical and commercial activities, because of their unfamiliarity with the Bible, and their ignorance of their spiritual obligations.

No less incisive was the author's protest in his "Proverbs" against the temporal power of the pope, and the worldly doings of the clergy. "They shall reign," he said, "but not in earthly but in heavenly things; they shall triumph, but not with weapons of war in their hands; they be warlike, but only against the enemies of Christ; they shall be protected with shield and arms, but only with the

shield of faith; they shall be rich, but only through the pearl of prayer."

Through such and similar sallies the two great Humanistic-pedagogic works became the militant weapon against the theologians, and formed the transition to the satirical writings, in the composition of which Erasmus was a master. Among these the most prominent was *Das Lob der Narrheit* (The praise of foolishness), which first appeared in 1509.

The Praise of Foolishness was witty and satirical and pleased the taste of the contemporaries, as well as later generations, which was proved by its numerous editions, by its translation into various languages, by the explanations of learned philologists, and by the illustrations of Holbein. The pictures were at first drawn upon the edge of Erasmus' copy, but were published several times afterward.

The idea of the book was not particularly new. On the contrary, the custom of ancient times to praise ridiculous or baneful things, through the mouths of their representatives, had continued into the time of Humanism, so that there was no lack of writings extolling laziness and drunkenness, sexual enjoyments and excesses, and even diseases. The difference betwen these books and those of Erasmus was chiefly that, if the former confined themselves to a certain category, to a single social class, the latter were of a more general nature; they seemed

to embrace the whole world, and included alike the Humanists and their opponents.

The "Praise of Foolishness" which spared no social class, exasperated the theologians. They had good reason for this bitterness, as the struggle was primarily concerning them. Before the book was written, on the return of Erasmus from Italy, he had been impressed, though in a lesser degree than Hutten and Luther, by the deficiencies of the Roman curacy, and had made a powerful protest against the same. He, however, who always drew back after every bold step, tried to soften his attack by declaring that he had only pursued his purpose in another form than that in his little handbook, in the "Book of the Prince's Education," and in the praise of Charles V, his desire being "to admonish, not to scold, to be of use, not to hurt, to promote the morality of man, not harm it."

But in Erasmus the critic and historian showed himself without fear as the man of better knowledge. In other words he revealed the motives regarding which the former deemed it advisable to keep silent.

Erasmus has not unfrequently been described as a religious, as well as a specific Christian, and of a catholic nature. But he was neither the one nor the other. The facts, which have been adduced to prove both assertions, his works on the New Testament and the Church fathers, including his

controversy with Luther, prove nothing. The former were the works of a philologist, but not of a theologian; the latter were the labors of a master in the mental domain who saw his primacy attacked and feared to lose it, and the elaborations of a philosopher who did not wish to have his thinking delivered bound into the hands of a prejudiced commandment. If he had been truly a Catholic, Erasmus would not have calmly endured all the fierce attacks led by the Reformer upon the worldly power of the pope, the excessive authority of the clergy, and many single dogmas of the Catholic Church. He would have first turned against Luther on the occasion of the question of free will, the decision of which was primarily that of philosophy. The chasm between Luther and Erasmus, therefore, was not the one between Protestant and Catholic, but that which separated theologian and philosopher.

Similarly, the difference between Erasmus and Reuchlin was not that of the New Testamental and the Old Testamental exegetics, but that of the philologist and aesthetic on the one hand and the religiously inclined etymologist on the other. The great merit which Erasmus acquired for himself through the publication of the Greek text of the New Testament; for the appreciation of the Bible, and its introduction into the very circles of learning through his clear and tasteful paraphrases of biblical pieces; was not lessened by the assertion that he

did not undertake these works from a religious purpose, but from a certain critical-historical and polemical necessity. Erasmus admitted that he was no hero. Much as he loved truth, he did not love it to the extent of giving his life for it. Luther denounced his cowardice toward the Reformation in burning words, and Erasmus refrained from replying with equal vigor.

He served science nobly. His edition of the Greek Testament, published at Basel in 1516, is esteemed his greatest work. In the words of Michaelis perhaps there never existed an abler editor of the New Testament, and he possessed in the highest degree natural abilities, profound learning and a readiness in detecting errors, with every qualification that is requisite to produce critical sagacity.

57

Accession No. 6824 Call No. DD 89 .E5 v.4

Author Ellis, Edward - Ed.

Title History of the German people

BEMCO 211-D

BORROWER'S NAME	DATE DUE	DATE RET'D

6824